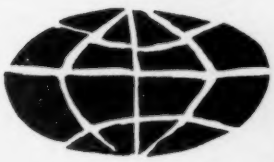
Arms Control & Disarmament

A QUARTERLY BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH ABSTRACTS AND ANNOTATIONS



VOLUME 5, NUMBER 4

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Prepared by the
ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT BIBLIOGRAPHY SECTION
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PREFACE

Arms Control & Disarmament attempts to bring under bibliographic control a large and growing body of literature in an important subject area. It is prepared by the Arms Control and Disarmament Bibliography Section of the Library of Congress, through the support of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Each quarterly issue contains abstracts and annotations of current literature in the English, French, German, and Russian languages, as well as abstracts and annotations of current literature in all languages published in English translation. Author and subject indexes appear in the first three numbers of each volume, with the fourth number containing cumulative author and subject indexes.

To facilitate the use of this bibliography the title of each foreign language entry is preceded by its English translation in brackets. Titles in the Cyrillic alphabet are transliterated according to the Library of Congress system, but with ligatures omitted. For the convenience of readers in the Library of Congress, call numbers are given for all cataloged and classified materials. Uncataloged and unclassified materials are designated by symbols indicating the custodial divisions of the Library in which they can be found. A list of these symbols appears on the next page.

Matters of fact and opinion presented in *Arms Control & Disarmament* are solely the responsibility of the authors of the items abstracted, and their inclusion does not constitute endorsement by either the Library of Congress or the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Information about the periodicals cited can in most instances be obtained readily from standard reference works.

The bibliography is compiled from a survey of the literature received by the Library of Congress that is likely to be available in the larger research and public libraries in the United States. Sources surveyed include trade books, monographs, selected government publications, publications of national and international organizations and societies, and approximately 1,700 periodicals. With the exception of materials delayed in arriving at the Library, the literature cited has usually been published in the 3 months preceding the month in which a number is sent to press. Entries are chosen under the assumption that arms control and disarmament is a subject area encompassing related topics such as weapons development and basic factors in world politics. The coverage is not exhaustive, however. It excludes articles in newspapers and the reporting of day-to-day events in newsmagazines.

The abstracts are written by the Arms Control and Disarmament Bibliography Section, except that abstracts or summaries published with the articles to which they relate are, with the permission of their copyright owners, sometimes used verbatim or in modified form and are designated as "abstract supplied" or "abstract supplied, modified."

Library of Congress Location Symbols

(Uncataloged and Unclassified Materials)

Chi Kor	Chinese and Korean Section
DNLM	U.S. National Library of Medicine
Hebr	Hebraic Section
Japan	Japanese Section
LL	Law Library
Newsp	Newspaper Reading Room
Nr East	Near East Section
P&GP RR	Periodical and Government Publication Reading Room
Sci RR	Science Reading Room
Slav Rm	Slavic Room

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I. THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

A. BASIC FACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS

1422
Baldwin, David A. FOREIGN AID, INTERVENTION, AND INFLUENCE. World politics, v. 21, Apr. 1969: 425-447. D839.W57, v. 21

Focuses on the links between foreign aid and influence, particular types of aid and intervention, and trade and intervention. Baldwin asserts that the several types of aid that were examined would probably involve significant intervention in developing states and that possibly this intervention could be minimized "by the functional equivalent of special trading arrangements." Baldwin argues that some types of intervention increase economic wellbeing and ensure world peace and concludes that the United States should accept "involvement, or joint participation, as a permanent part of [its] international life and on this basis to participate as intelligently and usefully as [it] can."

1423
Bienen, Henry. VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE; A REVIEW OF CURRENT LITERATURE. Chicago, Published for the Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs [by] University of Chicago Press [1968] xiv, 119 p. HM281.B5
Bibliography: p. 107-115.

Partial contents.--Foreword.--Preface.--Introduction.--Guerrilla war.--Revolution.--Conclusions.--Index.

Reviews the important literature concerning the relationship between violence and social change. Bienen attempts to clarify the nature and scope of the subject and to single out those approaches that appear to offer the most promise for fruitful inquiry.

1424
Brezhnev, Leonid I. BREZHNEV SPEECH AT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE; FOR STRENGTHENING THE SOLIDARITY OF COMMUNISTS, FOR A NEW UPSWING IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, July 2, 1969: 3-17. D839.C87, v. 21
Translated from Pravda and Izvestiia, June 8, 1969. Slav Rm
Speech delivered at the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, June 7, 1969.

Contends that imperialism continues to be the main obstacle to peace and freedom, while the world Socialist system is the leading anti-imperialist force. Brezhnev discusses some of the major problems within the Communist movement: "right- and left-wing opportunism"; Chinese "adventurism" and preparation for war; and the necessity for genuine proletarian internationalism and unity in the struggle against imperialism. He concludes by reasserting the commitment of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to support this worldwide effort.

1425
Buchan, Alastair. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE IN THE LATER TWENTIETH CENTURY. Nottingham, University of Nottingham [1968] 14 p. (Montague Burton international relations lecture, 1967-68) D844.B76

Discusses changes "in the nature and locale of political violence" during the past two decades, their causes, and the prospects for the persistence of the present pattern of violence. Buchan observes that during the first half of this century Europe was the focal point of violence, whereas Asia, Africa, and Latin America now hold this distinction. He relates this in part to the rapid growth of technology, the "balance of prudence" brought about by the nuclear stalemate, and the demise of colonialism. The prospects for reducing the incidence of violence depend primarily on the ability of Third World nations to develop and improve their standards of living.

1426
Deutsch, Morton. CONFLICTS: PRODUCTIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE. Journal of social issues, v. 25, Jan. 1969: 7-41. HN51.J6, v. 25

The typical characteristics of destructive conflicts are described and the underlying psychological processes which result in such conflicts are identified. A similar type of description is given for productive conflicts. The factors which tend to move a conflict into a productive or destructive course are discussed. The problems involved in changing the course of conflict are examined. Here the emphasis is on conflict between those who have considerable authority to make decisions and relatively high control over the means of social and political influence and those who have little decision-making authority and relatively little control over the conventional means of influence: a type of conflict which is characteristic of our time. It is pointed out that social scientists have rarely served as consultants to the poor and weak rather than the rich and strong. The unwitting consequence has been a distorted perspective and a neglect of certain basic problems. Strategies of inducing change available to low power groups are then considered. (Abstract supplied)

1427
Gaffu, Yaw O. [PROSPECTS FOR PAX AFRICANA] Aussichten einer Pax Africana. Moderne Welt, v. 10, no. 1, 1969: 48-53. D839.M58, v. 10

Contends that, in the absence of effective African initiatives to secure peace in Africa, it is a duty of France and Great Britain to prevent that continent from becoming an object of contest between the superpowers. Because of their traditionally close relations with African countries, Britain and France seem predestined to play such a role.

1428
Green, R. T., and G. Santori. A CROSS CULTURAL STUDY OF HOSTILITY AND AGGRESSION. Journal of peace research, no. 1, 1969: 13-22.
AS9. J6, 1969

References: p. 18-19.

Analyses and compares the structure of hostile attitudes and aggressive behaviour of two national groups, English and Italian, taking into account the national stereotypes involved. While the two groups do not differ greatly in their overall level and general pattern of scoring on a questionnaire, there are nevertheless divergencies that reflect the differing norms of the two societies. In particular, the hostile/aggressive Italian has to contend with a display motive that seems to permeate his culture pattern and contributes to the sterotype of the "Latin temperament." To this extent, the "kernel of truth" hypothesis is supported. Correspondingly, the stereotype of the perfidious, hypocritical Englishman is lent credence, in that revenge cloaked in moral guise and world-weary cynicism and contempt are more apparent attributes of the hostile/aggressive Englishman as revealed by the questionnaire. Attitudes towards authority draw on both the display and cynicism aspects. While the Italian is impressed by the trappings of power, the Englishman is more concerned with its exercise. It is concluded that, although culture patterns may be fruitfully compared in terms of their ways of handling and expressing hostility/aggression, it is essentially meaningless to describe one culture pattern as more or less hostile/aggressive than another in any absolute terms, since no external criterion exists that is not in some sense arbitrary. (Abstract supplied)

1429
Greig, Ian. THE ASSAULT ON THE WEST. Petersham [Eng.] Foreign Affairs Publishing, 1968. 357 p.
HX518. S8. G68

Bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents. --pt. 1. The attack from without: The character of the assault. The propaganda barrage. Foreign language broadcasting services. Agitation by facts; the role of Communist news agencies. International Communist fronts. Bi-lateral fronts. Espionage and subversion. "Not just one method"; a survey of the tactics and methods of Communist bloc intelligence services. Subversion and special operations. The auxiliaries. --pt. 2. The attack from within: "The spearheads of communism"; Communist Parties in non-Communist countries. Activities and tactics of Communist Parties in non-Communist countries. Publishing activities of indigenous Communist Parties and Communist activities in trade unions. The concealed offensive. Communist Parties and the revolutionary road to power. Notes on Communist guerillas. --Conclusions.

Documents the use of "political warfare, propaganda and subversion" by Communist States and other Communist organizations "to weaken the will of the peoples of the Free World to resist the spread of Communism and to confuse Western public opinion as to the true aims of the Communist states."

1430
Horowitz, David. EMPIRE AND REVOLUTION; A RADICAL INTERPRETATION OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. New York, Random House [1969] 274 p.
HX518. S8H67

Contents. --pt. 1. Bolshevik Marxism; a perspective: Introduction. Marxism and revolution. Imperialism and revolution. --pt. 2. Containment and revolution: Open door empire. Capitalism and the cold war. --pt. 3. The Russian revolution and its fate: The modern revolutionary framework. Uninterrupted revolution; from Lenin to Stalin. Uneven and combined development; the Stalin era. --pt. 4. Coexistence and revolution: Russia, the Comintern and the West. World War and cold war. --pt. 5. A new revolutionary epoch: International revolution. The epoch and its crisis. --Bibliography. --Index.

Reviews the growth of socialism as a significant force in world politics and the reaction of capitalist nations to this development. Horowitz reevaluates the history of capitalist-Socialist relations from a perspective that regards capitalism, even in its modified Keynesian form, as inherently expansionist and opposed to meaningful social change and socialism, despite its failures, as the only social system capable of bringing about such change. He contends that the usual characterization of the cold war as a struggle between national power blocs has tended to obscure this more fundamental conflict between two social systems.

1431
Krakau, Knud. [REGIONALISM IN THE TENSE AREA OF HEGEMONIAL INTERESTS] Der Regionalismus im Spannungsfeld hegemonialer Interessen. Moderne Welt, v. 10, no. 1, 1969: 22-34.
D839. M58, v. 10

Points out the role of regionalism as an instrument of the superpowers' foreign policies that is aimed at consolidation of the bipolar balance of power; by enhancing nationalism it occasionally helps to neutralize intraregional hegemonies.

1432
Leiden, Carl, and Karl M. Schmitt. THE POLITICS OF VIOLENCE; REVOLUTION IN THE MODERN WORLD Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall [1968] 244 p. (A Spectrum book)
JC491. L36

Partial contents. --pt. 1. The theory of revolution: The pattern of revolution. Violence, terror, and the coup d'état. The prerevolutionary environment; causes of revolution. The stages of revolution. Revolutionary leaders and followers. The ideology of revolution. --pt. 2. Case studies in revolution: The Mexican revolution. The Turkish revolution. The Egyptian revolution. The Cuban revolution. Modern revolutions; comparisons and prospects. --Bibliography. --Index.

Develops a model incorporating the most significant aspects of revolution and applies this to four case studies of revolution in Latin America and the Middle East. Leiden and Schmitt acknowledge the difficulty of working out a single definition or model of revolution but insist that certain patterns are nevertheless discernible. They regard violence as an integral part of the contemporary political process and predict a high incidence of revolution during the remaining third of this century.

1433
Lipset, Seymour M. THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF STUDENT ACTIVISM ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 40 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3943)
AS36.R28, no. 3943
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 85-86.
AS36.R284, v. 6

Analysis of the intellectual and historical background, and possible effect on international relations, of worldwide student activism. While specific targets for student activism may vary from country to country, there are certain common ideological elements, namely a reaction against the domestic status quo and lack of any relationship to adult organizations. This resurgence of student activism is due, in part, to the coming of intellectual and political age of a generation unaffected by the polarities of the Cold War which stifled, to some extent, domestic criticism. The short-run effect of the extra-parliamentary nature of this activism will, on the whole, strengthen the right. However, the dominant political group, in the interest of preserving tranquility and avoiding violence against the government, may opt for a more isolationist course. In the long run, as these student activists move into positions of responsibility, the elite power structures will contain a much larger proportion of liberals and leftists than they do now. (Abstract supplied)

1434
McNamara, Robert S. THE POPULATION PROBLEM. Congressional record [daily ed.] 91st Congress, 1st session, v. 115, May 8, 1969: S4748-S4751.
J11.R5, v. 115
Full text of an address delivered May 1, 1969, at the University of Notre Dame; inserted into the Record by Senator Clifford P. Case.

Problems generated by the world's population explosion constitute the major obstacle to advancement in the underdeveloped world. The statistics of the population explosion are staggering and its consequences self-perpetuating. The problem is compounded by a set of myths that obscure the basic issues and hinder rational efforts to achieve a solution. While some pessimistic observers such as C. P. Snow believe that it is already too late to prevent widespread famine in the poor countries within the next decade, there is every reason to believe that the revolution in agriculture will provide a minimal length of time--two decades--in which to control the problem. This will require, however, extension of existing programs of birth control and massive efforts to initiate new programs and intensify research in the field of reproductive biology. It is certain that the population problem will be solved; the only question is whether it is to be solved by famine, riots, insurrection, and war--or in keeping with man's dignity.

1435
Mandel, Ernest, ed. FIFTY YEARS OF WORLD REVOLUTION, 1917-1967; AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM. [Translations by Gerald Paul] New York, Merit Publishers [1968] 366 p.
HX40.M256
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents. --Introduction, by Ernest Mandel. --Three phases of the Russian revolution, by Sirio Di Giuliomaria. --The Chinese and Indochinese revolutions, by Nahuel Moreno. --The Cuban revolution and its lessons, by Hugo González Moscoso. --Is there a third way for the Third World? by Sitaram B. Kolpe. --The uneven development of the world revolutionary process, by George Novack. --The roots of bureaucracy and ways to fight it, by Fernand Charlier. --Economics of the transition period, by Ernest Mandel. --Is Marxism-Leninism obsolete? by Joseph Hansen.

Essays on the theory and practice of revolution in the 20th century from a Trotskyist point of view. The authors stress the necessity for revolution as a means of bringing about radical social change and examine the problems inherent in perpetuating the revolutionary process.

1436
Mason, John Brown. RESEARCH RESOURCES; ANNOTATED GUIDE TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. v. 1: International relations & recent history; indexes, abstracts & periodicals. Santa Barbara, Calif., ABC-Clio, 1968, xviii, 243 p.
Z7161.M36

Partial contents. --pt. 1. Indexes and abstracts publications. --pt. 2. Periodicals. --pt. 3. Books. --pt. 4. National and trade bibliographies. --pt. 5. U.S. Government publications. --pt. 6. The press: American and foreign.

"Provides a selective guide to the extensive literature in the field of international relations and related areas." Parts 1 to 3 are subdivided according to subject and area, with special sections devoted to "conflict resolution, disarmament and peace" as well as international relations and foreign affairs.

1437
Millar, T. B. THE INDIAN AND PACIFIC OCEANS: SOME STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1969. 20 p. map. (Adelphi papers, no. 57)
U162.A3, no. 57
Bibliographical footnotes.

Examines the strategic situation in the Indian and Pacific Oceans and the maritime strength and policies of nations bordering on them. Millar focuses on the expansion of Soviet naval power and the potential for growth of Japanese naval power commensurate with its economic standing. In four appendices the author outlines the existing treaties and agreements involving littoral nations, compares the use made of the Suez and Panama Canals, describes important straits and channels, and provides a breakdown of American forces in the region.

1438
Nardin, Terry, and Neal E. Cutler. RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF SOME PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL INTERACTION IN AN INTER-NATION SIMULATION. Journal of peace research, no. 1, 1969: 1-12.
AS9.J6, 1969
Notes: p. 10-11.

Evaluates the reliability and validity of the inter-nation simulation (INS) as an operating model of international interaction. Reliability is evaluated by comparing correlation coefficients describing patterns of interaction in one series of runs of the INS with coefficients generated during a second series of runs. Of 21 reliability comparisons, 2 were found to differ by a magnitude of .20 or more. Validity is evaluated by comparing coefficients describing patterns of interaction in the combined runs of the INS with coefficients observed in data from the international system chosen

as a referent. Of 21 validity comparisons, 10 were found to differ by a magnitude of .20 or more. These 10 comparisons, all involving relationships represented by high correlations in the referent system but low correlations in the INS, are interpreted as mispredictions of the INS--i.e., as relationships which exist in the referent system, but which the INS fails to generate. Further analysis aimed at isolating the particular relationships and variables involved in these mispredictions is reported as a basis for revising the INS model. (Abstract supplied)

1439
Russett, Bruce M., and W. Curtis Lamb. GLOBAL PATTERNS OF DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE, 1963-64. Journal of peace research, no. 1, 1969: 37-55.
AS9.J6, 1969

Notes: p. 53-54.

Identifies, inductively through factor analysis, groups of nations linked together by relatively high levels of mutual diplomatic representation. Some theories of international politics hypothesize that nations will maintain high diplomatic exchange with states with whom they share particular bonds of common interest, such as cultural similarity or commercial interaction. Other theories suggest that diplomatic salience is a function of importance in international politics generally--states will send many diplomats to potential enemies and major neutrals, as well as to friends. Support is found for both hypotheses. Most groupings are "regionally" based among countries with bonds of similarity or other interactions, but one major grouping, of "Large Powers," includes the great powers plus several middle powers. The typical small or medium power is but weakly linked to other small and medium powers outside its own region, but a few (e.g., India, Egypt, Japan) cast wide nets. The groupings are compared systematically with those that appeared in previous analyses for other variables. The closest approximations are found to groups formed by international trade and by common membership in international organizations. Substantially poorer fits are achieved with groupings of socio-cultural similarity, UN voting, and geographical proximity. (Abstract supplied)

1440
Schmitter, Philippe C. THREE NEO-FUNCTIONAL HYPOTHESES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. International organization, v. 23, winter 1969: 161-166.
JX1901.I55, v. 23

Delimits three working hypotheses--spillover, externalization, and politization--in an attempt to clarify the theoretical premises that underlie the neofunctional approach to integration. Schmitter notes that the three hypotheses are of uneven status: The first is an explicit statement "of the basic theoretical rationale which underlies the neo-functional approach . . . . The other two are specifications of the first, subsidiary propositions exploring the impact of the first in specific policy areas."

1441
Smith, Raymond F. ON THE STRUCTURE OF FOREIGN NEWS: A COMPARISON OF THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE INDIAN WHITE PAPERS. Journal of peace research, no. 1, 1969: 23-36.
AS9.J6, 1969

References: p. 35.

A set of hypotheses on the structure of foreign news, which had been presented by Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, is tested empirically by comparing New York Times' coverage of Sino-Indian relations in 1962 with the "actual" relations of the two countries as reflected in their official correspondence, published by the Indian government in a series of White Papers. Four of the six hypotheses tested are confirmed. It is found that international relations, according to the newspaper, is comprised as predicted of a series of simple, discrete, and dramatic events, whose nature is such as to tend to confirm our expectations of what will happen. On the other hand, predictions that the newspaper would over-select events which are rare or unexpected, and overemphasize events which are more negative in their consequences, were not confirmed. Since the New York Times is generally considered one of the world's most complete and factual newspapers, these finding probably apply with even greater force to most other newspapers in the world. Therefore, in reporting international news, newspapers should place more emphasis on background material, on complex and ambiguous events, and on dissonant events. Although Galtung and Ruge had only hypothesized, rather than demonstrated, the existence of the twelve factors influencing news selection discussed in their paper, this study seems to confirm that most, if not all, of the factors do exist and do exert a distorting effect on the news selection process. (Abstract supplied)

1442
SOME MATERIAL FROM THE DISCUSSION ON EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT. In International Institute for Peace. Active co-existence, no. 19, Jan./Mar. 1969: 1-38.
P&GP RR

Partial contents. --Verbal note of the West German Government to nearly all governments of the world on peace and policy questions, 25 March 1966. --Soviet Government's reply of 17 May 1966 to the so-called German peace note. --Declaration on strengthening peace and security in Europe. (Document of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries in Bucharest, published on 9 July 1966.) --Memorandum of the West German Government of 19 April 1967 on the question of the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons handed to all UN members by the West German observer delegation. --Letter by the Soviet Ambassador, Piotr Abrassimov, to the Ambassadors of the USA, Great Britain and France in the Federal Republic of Germany against the elaboration of a bill on "civil defence" by the West Berlin authorities in cooperation with the West German Government, 26 July 1967. --Statement of Federal Chancellor Dr. K. G. Kiesinger in his "Report on the State of the Nation in Divided Germany," 11 March 1968. --Conversation between the Ambassador of the USSR in Bonn, S. K. Zarapkin, and West German Foreign Minister W. Brandt, 10 January 1969.

Collection of correspondence between the Governments of the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, which deals with problems of peace and security in Europe. The editors emphasize that the purpose of the material is to shed "light on issues regarding the prospect of greater security in Europe."

1443
Toynbee, Arnold J. ARNOLD TOYNBEE TALKS OF PEACE POWER RACE IN AMERICA. Look, v. 33, Mar. 18, 1969: 25-27.
AP2.L79, v. 33

Interview by J. Robert Moskin.

Views on issues of international importance--prospects for war, peace, and international cooperation. Toynbee predicts that America and Russia will cooperate more positively to promote world order and that China will calm down considerably in the 1970's.

1444
Vandevanter, E. A FURTHER INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF ALLIANCES: NATO and the OAS. [Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968] 77 p. ([Rand Corporation. Paper] P-3832)
AS36.R28, no. 3832
Bibliographical footnotes.
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 75.
AS36.R284, v. 6

A comparison, functionally and structurally, of the United States' two most important alliances--NATO and the Organization of American States (OAS)--based on the premise that alliances are calculated ventures in which each partner expects certain returns for his investment. The purpose is to learn more about alliances in general and to consider possible changes in one organization in view of experiences in the other. The analysis indicates that more precise theories of supranationality and integration are needed in the study of alliances. OAS is a supranational organization and NATO is an integrated organization. Either could proceed toward more integration or toward less. In the case of NATO, an easing of integration could be in U.S. interests over the next 10 years. In the case of the OAS, its supranational character has enabled it to operate as an effective collective security agency. Integration, if properly introduced, could supplement the present system. It could never substitute for supranationality as it has in NATO. (Abstract supplied)

1445
Wiberg, Håkan. SOME COMMENTS ON THE FUNCTIONS AND MEANING OF GAME THEORY. Cooperation and conflict, no. 4, 1968: 247-253.
P&GP RR

Whether his theoretical concerns are descriptive, predictive, explanatory, or normative, the social scientist encounters grave difficulties whenever he attempts to apply game theory to real world phenomena. For one thing, it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify and measure the empirical equivalents of the players, strategy sets, and payoff functions that make up a mathematical game. For another, the theoretically expedient assumption that the players are rational and possess full information is seldom, if ever, valid. Efforts to remedy this situation by incorporating into game theory assumptions and concepts from other disciplines--e.g., psychology--have met with little success, for, among other weaknesses, expanded game theories of this kind still fail to give structural factors their due. This defect may never be corrected because the more structural elements the investigator includes in his conceptual framework, the more aware he becomes that he should have stated his analysis in structural terms in the first place. No final conclusions on the value of mathematical games to social science can be drawn by reasoning a priori, but, until the doubts raised here are dispelled, game theory should be considered a suspect tool of political analysis.

1446
Wolf, Charles. ASIAN FUTURES. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 14 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3852)
AS36.R28, no. 3852
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 77.
AS36.R284, v. 6

The text of an interview for Japan's The Kokubo, predicting some effects from President Johnson's announcements of the bombing cessation and his withdrawal from the presidential race: (1) reduced political schism in the U.S.; (2) a temporizing (if any) response from North Vietnam; (3) a fracturing rather than a strengthening of South Vietnam; (4) favorable worldwide opinion, blurred by announcements of bombing up to the 20th parallel and an additional 13,500 troops; (5) unfavorable reaction in Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Australia. Serious negotiations are doubtful before the American elections, and then the primary emphasis should be on enforcement instrumentation, with ideological gains secondary. Two lessons from the war are to avoid turning insurgencies into conventional wars and to use tolerance with persistence in improving a government's effectiveness. A major possible effect of the war may be U.S. isolationism so as to deal with domestic issues. The problems are soluble, but they will take time. (Abstract supplied)

B. FOREIGN POLICIES

1447
Andras, Charles. THE INVADERS' APPROACH TO EUROPE. East West digest, v. 5, Apr. 1969: 105-124.
P&GP RR

Points to trends in Soviet thinking on the problem of security in Europe after the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Andras contends that for the moment the Soviet Union is preoccupied with reunifying the Soviet bloc to gain a position of strength from which to force Western acceptance of the Soviet version of the status quo in Europe. This policy requires that Eastern Europe be isolated from Western influence, which has been a principal cause of disunity in the bloc, and in this lies the irrealism of the Soviet approach to European problems. Forces are at work, particularly on the practical level, that defeat every effort at consolidating the division between the two blocs. Furthermore, "the problems created by general progress, unavoidable East-West contacts, and the spontaneous desires of the peoples" must be dealt with "in open dialogue between East and West, and not from any position of strength."

1448
Anikushin, Aleksandr [interview] SOVIET FRONTIERS ARE INVIOLABLE. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 15, Mar. 19, 1969: pt. 1, [item] 8, 1-3.
Slav Rm
Translated from Sovetskaia Rossiia, Mar. 19, 1969.
Slav Rm

The frontier between Russia and China was established long before the October Revolution, and the Soviet Union has always been ready to discuss the consolidation of the Soviet-Chinese boundaries. Some talks were started in the past, but since 1964 the Chinese have refused to continue and instead have prepared invasions into the Soviet territory, spread anti-Soviet hysteria, and even published maps on which the Chinese frontier juts deep into the Soviet Union. The recent border provocations on the Ussuri

River were planned carefully in advance but were abortive. The Soviet Union will not tolerate any disturbances on its borders, which are guarded by courageous and vigilant units, and any violation of the tranquility at the border will be rebuffed according to the rules set up by the Government's statement of May 15, 1969.

1449
THE "ATLANTIC COMMUNITY" REAPPRAISED. Edited by Robert H. Connery. New York, Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, 1968. 156 p. (Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, v. 29, no. 2) D848.A85

Partial contents. --The need for reappraisal, by Robert H. Connery. --NATO and the changing Russian threat, by Nils H. Wessell. --The choice for the United States, by William T. R. and Annette Baker Fox. --Britain and Europe, by John MacGregor. --A Washington perspective, by Abraham Katz. --Britain's defense dilemmas, by Andrew J. Pierre. --The French nuclear deterrent, by Wilfrid L. Kohl. --The issue of German nuclear armament, by Catherine M. Kelleher. --A selective bibliography on the Atlantic community, by David J. Pass.

Reappraises the idea of an Atlantic community and examines its problems and prospects for the future. Connery and Wessell review the history of NATO, the reasons for its creation, and its present relevance. The Foxes stress that Europe remains the focal point of the U.S.-Soviet confrontation despite the current preoccupation with Vietnam. MacGregor reviews Britain's unsuccessful attempts to join in the creation of a united Europe. Katz considers the problems that must be resolved if American policy is to make the transition from Atlantic "community" to Atlantic "partnership." Pierre examines Britain's defense problems as a post-imperial power. Kohl and Kelleher discuss French and German intentions, respectively, with regard to nuclear weapons; Kohl finds it unlikely that France will renounce nuclear weapons even after De Gaulle, while Kelleher concludes that Germany's future course is still uncertain.

1450
Ball, George W. SLOGANS AND REALITIES. Foreign affairs, v. 47, July 1969: 623-641.
D410.F6, v. 47

The abundance of political slogans currently in use in American public discourse indicates "a country no longer sure of its role in the world, yet unable to redefine it in a satisfactory manner." It is pleasant to talk about the "rule of law," but the only realistic principle that can serve as the basis of American foreign policy for the foreseeable future is that of preserving the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union. The "old diplomacy" with its recognized "spheres of interest" and power politics is still in vogue because the United Nations is too weak to act effectively. In the Middle East crisis, attempts to reach a settlement are hindered by the slogan of "imposed peace," which only confuses the issues. Similarly the assertion that "the era of the superpowers is finished" reveals a too hasty conclusion that the world is no longer dominated by bipolar politics. Vietnam has not demonstrated that American power is failing, but only that the exercise of this power must be limited. The basic problem of American foreign policy remains that of finding ways in which the United States and the Soviet Union can live together in peace while constantly expanding their common interests. This task is made more difficult by the concealment of complex realities beneath simplistic slogans.

1451
Barnet, Richard J. DETENTE. Peace press, v. 5, Jan./Feb. 1969: 16-22.
P&GP RR

"Text of the speech at the International Seminar of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, Stuttgart, West Germany, November 22, 1968."

The shock of the Cuban missile crisis and the failure of the multilateral force proposal were responsible for the U.S. decision to seek détente in Europe, but the distractions of the Vietnam War and the dynamics of the nuclear arms race lent real urgency to the quest. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia had a negligible effect on this policy, though it did reduce somewhat the price the United States was willing to pay for a settlement. From détente the United States hopes to gain a relaxation of tensions in central Europe, a "flexible agreement on the future course of the arms race," a settlement of economic differences with the states of Western Europe, and a breathing spell to work out new approaches to the problems of the developing nations. Soviet motives are to lay to rest once and for all the threat of a revanchist, nuclear-armed Germany and to escape from the burdens of the arms race. Having achieved relative equality with the United States in strategic arms, the Soviet Union is now ready to negotiate some kind of arms limitation agreement.

1452
Barnet, Richard J. INTERVENTION AND REVOLUTION; THE UNITED STATES IN THE THIRD WORLD. New York, World Pub. Co. [1968] 302 p.
E840.B34
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents. --Guardian at the gates. --Two worlds in collision: the national-security manager and the revolutionary. --The roots of revolution. --International Communism and the export of revolution. --The road to world leadership: the police idea in U.S. foreign policy. --The Truman doctrine and the Greek civil war. --The Lebanese civil war and the Eisenhower doctrine. --The Dominican Republic: to the Johnson doctrine. --America in Vietnam: the four interventions. --The subversion of undesirable governments. --Patterns of intervention. --Index.

Traces the history of U.S. intervention in revolutionary warfare in the Third World, beginning with the decision to intervene in the Greek civil war and continuing to the present intervention in Vietnam and elsewhere. Barnet relies primarily on the statements of members of "the national-security bureaucracy" to develop his explanation of the rationale for intervention. He finds in the Truman, Eisenhower, and Johnson doctrines a progressive assertion of the right to intervene not only at the request of a friendly government or in conjunction with other major powers but also unilaterally, in some cases actively seeking to subvert other governments. The author says the United States justifies this policy by insisting that the only alternative to intervention would be a Communist takeover of the Third World, but in fact unilateralism is only a polite term for imperialism. He concludes that U.S. policymakers have failed to understand the nature of change in the Third World and have thereby only compounded

the difficulties of nations bent on development. What is needed is a policy that "confront[s] the Third World governments with the choice [the United States] now helps them to avoid: Learn to govern effectively and justly or face mounting insurgency. Prepare to transform traditional societies into nations or give way to revolutionaries who can convince the people that they can do it better."

1453
Battistini, Lawrence H. THE SINO-AMERICAN CONFRONTATION: A LOOK AT THE CHINESE SIDE. Yale review, v. 58, Dec. 1968: 161-181.
AP2. Y2, v. 58

A Sino-American détente will become a real possibility only when Americans are sufficiently enlightened to understand the true meaning of the Chinese revolution and recognize that modern China is a "problem," not because it is Communist ruled, but simply because it is China--"a nationally-conscious, aroused one-fifth of the human race on the move." U.S. attitudes toward China were frozen into unreasoning rigidity by the shock of the Korean War and the traumatic experience with McCarthyism. A good example of this intransigence is the U.S. Government's insistence that China is aggressive, which is a gross distortion of China's efforts "to establish firm, mutually recognizable borders with her southern neighbors" and to create a new order in those regions more in keeping with China's restored position of influence in international politics. Once misunderstandings of this kind have been cleared up, specific disputes between the two countries can be resolved. The United States will have to discontinue its support to Formosa, adopt a neutral policy with respect to the unfinished Chinese civil war, withdraw its troops from Vietnam, and terminate its military encirclement of the mainland. Chinese support for "wars of national liberation," which the United States feels obliged to oppose, might seem to raise insoluble difficulties; however, the issues are negotiable, and, as soon as other disputed points have been dealt with to China's satisfaction, it should be possible to work out ground rules to govern American and Chinese participation in these Third World conflicts.

1454
Bauer, Dankward. [UNTRUSTWORTHY RENUNCIATION OF FORCE; ANALYSIS OF FRUSTRATED POLICY] Der unglaubwürdige Gewaltverzicht; Analyse einer gescheiterten Politik. Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, v. 14, Jan. 1969: 20-28, 30-31.
D839. B57, v. 14

Describes the history of the unsuccessful Bonn-Moscow talks on the renunciation of force in relations between the German Federal Republic and the Soviet Union. Bauer ascribes their failure to Bonn's unrealistic Eastern policy, particularly its refusal to recognize the German Democratic Republic and to enter into a force-renunciation agreement with it.

1455
Borch, Herbert von. [AMERICA'S CHANGED RELATIONSHIP TO POWER] Amerikas verändertes Verhältnis zur Macht. Neue Rundschau, v. 80, no. 1, 1969: 18-31.
AP30. N5, v. 80

Considers it the task of the new U.S. administration to reduce American commitments abroad. Borch believes the reduction will affect primarily American aid to the Third World countries. As to the Vietnam War the new U.S. policy would not produce a compromise on the governmental level--in Paris talks or between the Governments of South Vietnam and North Vietnam--but it may well influence a compromise on the local government level, resulting in a regional administration in which Communists and non-Communists would participate.

1456
Brown, James F. RUMANIA TODAY. PT. 2. THE STRATEGY OF DEFIANCE. Problems of communism, v. 18, Mar./Apr. 1969: 32-38.
HX1. P75, v. 18

Rumanian leaders reacted defiantly to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia even though Rumania's future was imperiled. They upheld "the principles of independence, sovereignty, and mutual non-interference as the only acceptable basis for relations among Communist states" and rejected the Brezhnev doctrine. This defiance was probably the wisest course they could have followed since any evidence "of weakness regarding issues on which [they had] previously been adamant would increase rather than diminish the danger." Their firm stance in the face of great pressure from the Soviet Union was "not only to reassure the party and the population, but also . . . to draw worldwide attention to Rumania's situation and thus prevent the . . . complacency that characterized the international reaction to the invasion of Czechoslovakia."

1457
Brown, Seyom. THE GREAT FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 24 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3815)
AS36. R28, no. 3815
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 73.
AS36. R284, v. 6

An historical review of the internal debate on U.S. foreign policy since 1947, with a definition of new premises. A basic foreign policy consensus ("containing Communism") has existed until recently, defined as: U.S. security primarily is threatened by Soviet expansion, aided by worldwide Communist aggression, to which critical obstacles must be supplied by the United States. Serious challenge of the validity of this framework of foreign policy brings us to a point of decision regarding new premises. Decline of the anti-communism ideology, if effected, can be met by either (1) withdrawal, with deceptively secure isolation, by leaving survival to the fittest, or (2) recognition that U.S. strength should aim further than self-protection--that it should aid in breaking down artificial international barriers by sharing the surpluses of U.S. energy. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1458
Bundy, William P. HOW FOREIGN POLICY IS MADE--LOGIC AND EXPERIENCE. University of Pittsburgh law review, v. 30, spring 1969: 437-457.
LL

"Delivered at the University of Pittsburgh as the Louis Caplan Lecture, on October 17, 1968."

Discusses institutional and personal factors that shape American foreign policy and examines essential elements for successful policymaking. Bundy compares policymaking in the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations and considers policy decisions in the Cuban missile crisis, the Lebanon crisis, and the Vietnam conflict.

1459
Campbell, John C. TITO'S SEPARATE ROAD; AMERICA AND YUGOSLAVIA IN WORLD POLITICS. New York, Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Row [1967] 180 p. (Policy book series of the Council on Foreign Relations)
DR370.C33
Bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents.--1948: the break.--1955: the reconciliation.--1962: the new rapprochement.--Yugoslavia and the Third World.--Titoism: influence in Eastern Europe.--Belgrade-Moscow-Peking.--Yugoslavia and the West.

Reviews American policies toward Yugoslavia since 1948, notes the difficulties involved in implementing them, and examines the choices open to "the United States in determining its course in relation to that country."

1460
Dahrendorf, Ralf. BONN AFTER TWENTY YEARS: ARE GERMANY'S PROBLEMS NEARER SOLUTION? World today, v. 25, Apr. 1969: 158-171.
D410.W63, v. 25

West Germany has reached a juncture in its political affairs so critical that the fate of German democracy is at stake. Within Germany there is a new awareness that the times demand imaginative and far-reaching changes in both domestic and foreign policy, but the suspicion grows that present political arrangements, instead of providing the mechanisms needed to marshal and channel the forces of peaceful change, actually stifle these forces and dry up the wellsprings of social and political innovation. Germany needs a new social policy--one directed toward creating a society where men are free and inspired to participate actively in political life and where institutions exist to effect peaceful social change. German foreign policy is imprisoned in the stale cliches of the cold war; policies of the Bonn government on the "German question" are just so many empty slogans. Although Germany is in no position to abandon the security guarantees of NATO, it can and must find new arrangements with the West that will better protect its interests and permit it greater independence in foreign affairs. The long-range goal ought to be "a European Peace Order of a sub-nuclear type, guaranteed by the nuclear world Powers but independent of them." Such a peace order would include both Communist and non-Communist states. There are grave dangers in the present situation. Internally, the threat is from "systemic fascism," which stifles free human practice with a combination of subtle coercion and creature comforts; externally, the danger takes the form of German "Gaullism." But these dangers exist precisely because the German political system has failed to respond to human needs. Changes can and must be made before it is too late.

1461
A DISSENTER'S GUIDE TO FOREIGN POLICY. Edited by Irving Howe. New York, Praeger [1968] 349 p.
E744.D54 1968b
Essays, most of which were first published in Dissent.
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Foreword, by Lewis Coser.--Introduction: American power in the twentieth century, by Michael Harrington.--pt. 1. The cold war in retrospect, by Arnold S. Kaufman. A case against interventionism, by William Pfaff. Collective security, interventionism, and the Left, by Henry M. Pachter. Necessity and choice in American foreign policy, by Philip Green. Beyond the power blocs, by Ronald Steel.--pt. 2. Reflections on the Third World, by Walter Laqueur. Economic development in the backward countries, by Gunnar Myrdal. The prospects for a "Maoist" international, by Richard Lowenthal. Chinese visions and American policies, by Benjamin Schwartz.--pt. 3. Counter-revolutionary America, by Robert L. Heilbroner. Economic development and democracy, by Dennis H. Wrong. Rebuttal, by Robert L. Heilbroner. Surrebuttal by Dennis H. Wrong.--pt. 4. The politics of disaster, by Irving Howe. Moral judgment in time of war, by Michael Walzer. Venezuela: revolution and counter-revolution, by Keith Botsford. Ideas of the future, by George Lichtheim.

Essays on international relations and American foreign policy, whose common theme is the problem of modernization in the Third World and the present and potential role of the United States in this process. While all of the contributors are critical in varying degrees of America's present role, they differ significantly in their conceptions and evaluations of the problem and offer correspondingly diverse prescriptions for change.

1462
Dorrill, W. F. POWER, POLICY, AND IDEOLOGY IN THE MAKING OF CHINA'S "CULTURAL REVOLUTION." Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 164 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5731-PR) Q180.A1R36, no. 5731
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 60-61.
AS36.R284, v. 6

An analysis of the sequence of events that culminated in Communist China's Great Cultural Revolution and the implications of the present upheaval for Chinese domestic and foreign policy. Hypotheses have tended to focus on one or a combination of three elements: power, policy, and ideology. There is unquestionably a close interaction among these three elements; however, the chronology of events suggests that the Great Cultural Revolution may be viewed as an attempt by Mao to push China toward new and unprecedented heights of faith and fervor. Instability seems destined to continue so long as Mao and those designated by the Cultural Revolution to succeed him dominate the scene. Mere changes in leadership or alterations of particular domestic and foreign policies will not suffice to realize their revolutionary goals, which aim at a fundamental transformation of Chinese society and ideology. Disorder is likely to increase if those in opposition are ever able to join forces for a counterattack. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1463
Falk, Richard A. ELEMENTS OF SETTLEMENT: SAIGON NOTWITHSTANDING. Nation, v. 208, June 2, 1969: 689-693.
AP2.N2, v. 208

Criticizes President Nixon's continued support of the repressive Saigon government, argues that the United States desperately needs bargaining leverage over Saigon's policies and that such leverage can be acquired only by deescalating the American role in Vietnam, and maintains that significant American deescalation is essential to a rapid settlement of the war. Falk outlines three phases of "a plan for permitting peace to come to Vietnam."

1464
Findlay, Paul. UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY; ARE FREQUENT WARS NECESSARY. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, June 15, 1969: 520-523.
PN6121.V52, v. 35
"Delivered to the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 12, 1969."

Argues that mythology has dominated U.S. policy toward Russia and China, maintains that the rejection of this "mythology will go far towards reducing the possibility of frequent wars," and suggests more realistic policies.

1465
Freund, Ludwig. [THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STRATEGY, SPIRIT, AND POLITICS] Verhältnis von Strategie, Geist, Politik. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Feb. 1969: 61-65. U3.W396, v. 18

Argues that no scientific expertise can replace political judgment in fundamental issues of foreign and security policies.

1466
Friedman, Edward. NOW'S TIME TO TALK WITH CHINA. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 25, June 1969: 10-11, 35.
TK9145.A84, v. 25

Preoccupied with its internal problems, Communist China today is more receptive to offers of a political settlement with the United States than at any time since 1962. On other occasions, opportunities of this kind have been squandered--notably by Dulles in the mid-1950's, during China's period of peaceful coexistence, and by John Kennedy in the aftermath of the Bay of Pigs failure--and this one may slip away too, if nothing is accomplished before the "pragmatists," in exchange for military support, take China back into the Soviet fold. The key to a solution of Asian problems is Japan, which, as the world's third largest industrial power, can serve as a counterweight to Chinese influence in the Far East. Japan should be encouraged to assume a more active role in political and economic matters, but not military ones. The Far Eastern situation is complicated by Soviet attempts to encircle China, a struggle into which Japan, of necessity, and the United States, by choice, have been drawn. Despite this complication, the present moment is propitious for new American initiatives: With a new administration in office, the Vietnam War in the settlement stage, the cultural revolution over, Soviet diplomatic initiatives on the wane, and the Japanese-U.S. security treaty in need of revision, the outlook is good for a Sino-American settlement.

1467
Garder, Michel. [SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY] La politique étrangère de l'URSS. Politique étrangère, v. 34, no. 2, 1969: 133-159.
JX3.P6, v. 34

Heir to both the ancient Russian Empire and the "nation of proletarians" that originated from the Bolshevik revolution, the Soviet Union, which has become one of the world's superpowers, bears the mark of its twin heritage. Its foreign policy is now a conglomerate of Russia's traditional aspirations--Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vocation and the particular interests of its reigning oligarchy. Since the death of Stalin, the demystification of his legend, and above all the split with Communist China, this policy, which had been relatively coherent until recently, has become more and more contradictory. Fierce partisans of the status quo in all areas and prisoners of a revolutionary legend void of substance, the Soviet leaders are reduced to the defensive in the ideological domain and to immobilization in foreign affairs. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1468
Gittings, John. CHINA'S ISOLATION INCREASES. Survival, v. 11, May 1969: 151-154.
U162.S9, v. 11
Reprinted from New Society, Mar. 13, 1969.

The significance of the clash on the Ussuri River between Soviet and Chinese frontier guards is neither the potential it holds for escalation of the border dispute nor its confirmation of Chinese expansionism, but rather its illustration of China's isolation. The more independent foreign policy that China began to pursue in the mid-1950's met with failure both in the Third World, where friendly governments succumbed to political instability, and in its relations with the Soviet Union and the United States, both of which became increasingly hostile because they sensed a threat in China's growing power. Now that the cultural revolution--which was in part a reaction to these frustrations--seems to be ending, the question arises whether China can overcome its isolation. It appears very unlikely that China's relations with the Soviet Union will improve, largely because many Soviet policymakers consider it advantageous to perpetuate the extremist mood of the cultural revolution. Prospects for rapprochement with the United States are slightly better perhaps especially if and when the United States reduces its presence in Southeast Asia. China's internal problems prevent it from significantly influencing the Third World. Its greatest success at the moment, ironically enough, is among intermediate capitalist powers such as Canada, Italy, and Belgium.

1469
Gromyko, Andrei A. QUESTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. Reprints from the Soviet press, v. 9, Aug. 8, 1969: 3-40. DK266.A2R37, v. 9
Address at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., July 10, 1969.
Translated from Pravda, July 11, 1969.
Slav Rm

States the main trends and tasks of Soviet foreign policy at the present stage and emphasizes the necessity for the solidarity of the Warsaw Treaty countries. Gromyko deals with the Vietnam War and the Middle East crisis and Soviet attitudes toward them. He discusses the inviolability of the present European frontiers and of the two Germanys, the danger of nazism in West Germany, the Soviet proposal for an all-European conference on collective security, Sino-Soviet relations, and the problems of disarmament and proposes a collective security system in Asia. Gromyko concludes with hopes for good relations with the United States, pledges help to the United Nations in building a better world, and assures that the Soviet Union will continue to pursue the Leninist foreign policy of good relations with all countries in the world.

1470
Gurtov, M. 'STYLE' IN THE POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY OF COMMUNIST CHINA. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 38 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3775) AS36. R28, no. 3775
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 70.
AS36. R284, v. 6

In this analysis of the interrelationships between internal politics and external policy in China under Mao, the term "style" is used to indicate characteristics of one leadership's way of dealing with its society and the world. The sense of "Chineseness" and China's destiny, authority and unanimity, contradiction and struggle are elements of style in Communist China's foreign and domestic politics. Mao's style has been to regard struggle as inevitable, to interpret resistance to struggle as the signal for its intensification, and to reject reconciliation by compromise. There are indications that Mao is fighting a losing battle against a slow-moving tide of change that is not induced by hostility to Maoist ideology or by a desire to sweep Mao out of power, but rather by a belief that Maoism, with its emphasis on revolutionization, must be modified if it is to remain relevant to China's needs and serve China's national interests. (Abstract supplied)

1471
Hartley, Anthony. [AMERICA AND ITS ALLIES; ON THE DELEGATION OF FOREIGN COMMITMENTS] Amerika und seine Verbündeten; über die Delegierung von Auslandsverpflichtungen. Moderne Welt, v. 10, no. 1, 1969: 35-39. D839. M58, v. 10

Considers three modalities of America's world policy: alliances, the Washington-Moscow dialog, and American interventions--the latter aimed at prevention of international crises. Hartley discusses overextention of American commitments abroad and their need to be delegated to regional organizations.

1472
Heathcote, Nina. WESTERN INTEGRATION AND GERMAN REUNIFICATION 1966-68. Journal of Common Market studies, v. 7, Dec. 1968: 102-118.
HC241. J6, v. 7

Argues that European integration is neither necessary nor sufficient for German reunification. It is not necessary because reunification might be accomplished through negotiation between East and West Germany or between the two Germanys and the Soviet Union. It is not sufficient because, even if the utopian ideal of an integrated Europe could be achieved, there would still be difficulties in the way of reunification. As to whether a supranational organization or a nation-state could best tackle these problems, the evidence suggests that "no organization has the nation-state's flexibility, unity of purpose and tenacity in promoting policy."

1473
Hoffmann, Stanley. GULLIVER'S TROUBLES; OR, THE SETTING OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. New York, Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by McGraw-Hill [1968] xx, 556 p. (The Atlantic policy studies) E744. H632
Bibliographical footnotes.
Based on lectures entitled "Restraints on American policy," delivered at the Council on Foreign Relations in April-May 1965.

Partial contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. The world outside: The nature of the problem. The international system today. Gulliver in the chain gang.--pt. 2. America's style: The nature of the problem. The national style; an analysis. The nation's dilemmas; a critique.--pt. 3. America's political system: The nature of the problem. The pieces of the puzzle. Tying up the package.--pt. 4. Foreign policy revisited: Gulliver untied. The Atlantic puzzle. U. S. policy and the Atlantic Alliance; closed doors and open roads.--Index.

Examines the international and domestic context in which American foreign policy must be formulated and executed with special reference to the Atlantic Alliance. Hoffmann's primary concern is "to demarcate the area of effective choice," not to make policy recommendations. He describes the "crisis of complexity" that confronts American foreign policymakers and examines the "national style" and political institutions of the United States to determine their effects on foreign policy. He concludes by recommending a policy of "cooperation with a uniting Europe," which he considers feasible and consistent with basic American values and interests.

1474
Horelick, Arnold L. SOVIET POLICY DILEMMAS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 11 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3774)
AS36. R28, no. 3774
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 70.
AS36. R284, v. 6

The policy dilemmas that confront the Soviet Union in the Middle East are discussed in the context of the Soviet Union's position as (1) champion of the "progressive" regimes in the "national liberation struggle"; (2) the major non-Western source of aid to developing countries; and (3) the senior member of the world Communist movement. The Arab-Israeli conflict was a defeat for the Soviet Union in that it demonstrated the failure of massive Soviet military aid and the unwillingness of the Soviet Union to intervene militarily. At the same time, the Arab defeat provides the Soviet Union with its moment of greatest opportunity in the Middle East: Arab dependency on the Soviet Union is now greater than in the past and this dependency offers new opportunities for enlarging Soviet influence. The most fundamental questions of Soviet foreign and defense policy are now at issue in the Middle East. For the present, the Soviet Union is seeking to keep open as many alternatives as possible. (Abstract supplied)

1475
Horowitz, David. AN ANALYSIS: BEHIND THE SINO/SOVIET DISPUTE. Ramparts, v. 7, June 1969: 39-43. illus. AP2. R19, v. 7

Analyzes the evolution of the Sino-Soviet conflict and focuses upon the role of the Ussuri River boundary dispute in this conflict. Horowitz maintains that the Russians "authored" the incident by whipping up national hysteria against China, which they hoped would lead to China's expulsion from the international Communist movement.

1476
Imhoff, Christoph von. [RUSSIAN MANIPULATION BETWEEN THE EUPHRATES AND THE NILE] Russische Manipulation zwischen Euphrat und Nil. Aussenpolitik, v. 20, Feb. 1969: 71-77.
D839. A885, v. 20

Explains the Soviet Near East policy by pointing to the Kremlin's often-used method of first aggravating the conflict and then acting as a messenger of peace to impose a Pax Sovietica on the feuding sides.

1477
IS A WASHINGTON-PEKING ALLIANCE IN THE OFFING? TRENDS WHICH CANNOT BE IGNORED. Socialist congressman, v. 8, Feb. 25, 1969: 12-13.
JX298.S6A35, v. 8
"Courtesy: Tribune, Colombo."

Despite the nonexistence of diplomatic relations between the United States and Communist China, the two countries have been maintaining close and secret contacts for a long time. Although China has always been very sensitive about any leakage of information about the talks, some revelations have been made recently by the former American diplomat Kenneth Young, who estimates that there have been about 500 Sino-American meetings in the past 15 years in Geneva, Stockholm, Hong Kong, and Macao. Chinese companies operating in the United States and registered as "agents of Communist China" have been used for the mutual exchange of opinions on various issues of common interest. Sino-American business contacts have been centered in Hong Kong, and foodstuffs, steel products, electronic equipment, and textiles have been sent through this city from China to American troops in Vietnam. China receives from the United States materials for the manufacture of atomic bombs, and scientists are helping to implement China's ambitious nuclear plans. Bonn delivers heavy water to China and builds its nuclear installations with the help of the United States. An alliance between the United States and Communist China might bring about the end of the Vietnam War and deepen the erosion of the Communist bloc, but the price for this settlement might be not only economic benefits but also the reconsideration of the Sino-American demarcation line in Asia to "push it southwards," which would seriously endanger the security of many Asian states.

1478
Jain, Girilal. RUSSO-AMERICAN RELATIONS; LIMITS TO CO-OPERATION. In United Service Institution of India, New Delhi. Journal, v. 98, July/Sept. 1968: 239-245. U1.U5, v. 98

The reduction of the cold war in Europe creates the impression that the détente between the superpowers is growing and is being converted into an entente. However, the U.S.-Soviet confrontation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East dispels such an impression and makes it difficult to view this relationship as turning "into some form of durable co-existence and subsequently into general detente and co-operation." This is subject to three broad qualifications: Today the ideological component of the East-West struggle has weakened; the superpowers have evolved fairly effective crisis-management procedures "with the result that they would not permit a direct nuclear confrontation of the kind that had developed over Cuba"; and the superpowers should be able to cooperate to deal with the Chinese. The latter qualification might explain the parallel nature of Soviet and U.S. policies toward India in recent years.

1479
Kennedy, Edward M. RECOGNISING REALITY. Far Eastern economic review, v. 64, Apr. 3, 1969: 22-26. illus. HC411.F18, v. 64

Slight abbreviation of Senator Kennedy's address to the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, New York, March 20, 1969.

America's China policy has proved futile and has resulted in the two nations' glaring "at each other across the abyss of nuclear war." Thus, the United States must seek a new China policy and take steps to improve Sino-American relations as soon as possible. Fortunately, the Sino-Soviet border clash, which may have stimulated Peking's leaders to reevaluate their stance toward the United States, provides the Nation "with an extraordinary opportunity to break the bonds of distrust." The United States should encourage China to change its hostile attitude by proclaiming a willingness to adopt a new China policy, attempting to reconvene the Warsaw talks, unilaterally abolishing restrictions on travel and nonstrategic trade, announcing its willingness to reestablish consular offices in China and welcoming Chinese consular officials in the United States, attempting to involve the Chinese in arms control talks, seeking the establishment of full diplomatic relations, and withdrawing its opposition to Peking's entry into the United Nations. The United States must be patient; its initial attempts will probably be rejected. However, it will have laid the groundwork for improved relations and will have offered "the present and future leaders in Peking a clear and attractive alternative to the existing impasse in . . . relations."

1480
Kissinger, Henry A. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY; THREE ESSAYS. New York, Norton [1969] 143 p.
E840.K5

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Domestic structure and foreign policy: The role of domestic structure. The impact of the administrative structure. The nature of leadership. Domestic structure and foreign policy; the prospects for world order.--pt. 2. Central issues of American foreign policy: The structural problem. The limits of bipolarity; the nature of power in the modern period. Political multipolarity; the changed nature of alliances. Bipolarity and multipolarity; the conceptual problem. An inquiry into the American national interest.--pt. 3. The Vietnam negotiations: The situation within South Vietnam prior to negotiations. The environment of negotiations. Commitment and risk in Vietnam diplomacy; the problem of the bombing halt. Ceasefire and coalition government. Where do we go from here?--Index.

Essays that explore the relationship between domestic and foreign policies, the basic issues in American foreign policy, and the Vietnam negotiations. Kissinger believes that political multipolarity requires a new concept of international order in which the United States will have "to evoke the creativity of a pluralistic world, to base order on political multipolarity even though overwhelming military strength will remain with the two superpowers."

1481
Kolko, Gabriel. THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY; AN ANALYSIS OF POWER AND PURPOSE. Boston, Beacon Press [1969] xviii, 166 p.
E744.K86
Bibliographical references included in "Notes" (p. [139]-159).

Contents.--Introduction.--The men of power.--The American military and civil authority.--The United States and world economic power.--The United States

363-421 O - 69 - 2

in Vietnam, 1944-66.--Epilogue: on reason and radicalism.--Notes.--Index.

Contends that American foreign policy is determined primarily by economic interests. Kolko attempts to explain the dominance of class goals and interests even in the absence of a widespread consensus. He finds the concept of a military-industrial complex misleading and argues instead that civilians determine policy and use the military as their instrument. America's need for raw materials and its interest in maintaining world economic stability lie at the basis of its policy of intervention in the Third World, according to the author, and Vietnam is seen as a crucial test case for this policy. In the epilog he examines the prerequisites for bringing about effective changes in this policy.

1482
Landis, Lincoln. [THE SUEZ CANAL IN THE POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE SOVIET UNION] Der Suezkanal in der politischen Strategie der Sowjetunion. Europa-Archiv, v. 24, Feb. 10, 1969: 107-114.
D839.E86, v. 24

Describes the complex economic, military, and political factors that influence the Suez Canal question in Soviet political strategy. Landis points out that neither Soviet foreign policy nor Soviet propaganda presses for the opening of the canal. The continued instability in the Near East helps the Soviet Union to strengthen its political, economic, and military influence in the area.

1483
THE LIMITS OF COMMITMENT: A TIME-LOUIS HARRIS POLL. Time, v. 93, May 2, 1969: 16-17.
AP2.T37, v. 93

Surveys a representative sample of Americans concerning their attitudes toward the Nation's military commitments and their willingness for U.S. intervention in future conflicts in view of the Vietnam experience. The "poll reveals widespread skepticism about the uses of military power," a desire for peace and détente with the Communist nations, and a cautious affirmation of continued American willingness to protect smaller allies against aggression.

1484
Liska, George. RECURRENT CONFLICTS AND ALTERNATIVE ORDERS. In his War and order: reflections on Vietnam and history. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [c1968] p. 15-45. (Studies in international affairs, no. 11)
E744.L58

The major problem of international politics is, as it has always been, to find some principle of order to control the scale and distribution of conflict. There are five such principles--imperium, the bipolar hegemonic struggle, the balance of power, world government, and regionalized interregnum. The Soviet-American hegemonic struggle, which has set the tone of international politics for the last two decades, has now given way to an as yet unconsolidated American imperium. Containment of the U.S.S.R. continues to be necessary but is now secondary in importance to the task of confining the controlled, local violence and uncontrolled disintegration that have become so characteristic of the underdeveloped world. For the United States, there is no alternative to timely engagement against the forces that threaten chaos. The one development that would radically alter traditional power relationships and, with them, America's solitary imperial role would be the widespread proliferation of nuclear weapons, which cannot be stopped altogether but can be controlled--by judicious applications of imperial power. The shape of the future depends, to an as yet indeterminable degree, on the outcome of the Vietnam War. A U.S. defeat in that country may provoke a resurgence of cold war tensions, reverse the worldwide trend toward nonrevolutionary, nonideological politics and the minimization of the role of nuclear weapons, and encourage local violence, particularly the uncontrolled kind, by exacerbating the tensions between supporters and enemies of the status quo.

1485
Liska, George. WAR AND ORDER: REFLECTIONS ON VIETNAM AND HISTORY. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [c1968] 115 p. (Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research. Studies in international affairs, no. 11)
E744.L58

Contents.--The conquest of the United States by history.--Recurrent conflicts and alternative order.--Elementary order and pre-eminent power.--Anti-interventionism and imperial consciousness.--Conclusion.

Attempts to relate America's commitment in Vietnam to a broad historical overview of U.S. foreign policy, which is seen as the instrument of a new imperium of international order, not of colonial empire. Liska justifies this new U.S. imperium with the argument that, "in a world where exhortation and example are not enough," only the responsible exercise of power by the one nation that possesses a sufficient degree of it can preserve order--the essential precondition of freedom and justice. He indicts "anti-interventionist" critics of American involvement in the Vietnam War for refusing to recognize the need for an active stabilizing force in international politics and warns that the consequence of a U.S. defeat in Vietnam will be the disintegration of that modicum of order the United States has built up so laboriously over the past two decades.

1486
McKinney, John B. PEKING'S FAILURE IN LATIN AMERICA. Army, v. 19, June 1969: 48-54. illus.
Ul.A893, v. 19

Communist China's failure to establish ideological dominance over Latin America may be only temporary, but Peking seems "to be losing ground in [its] attempts to gain political success . . . or even dominance of the local communist parties." However, since a militant minority of Latin American Communists have adopted the Chinese concept of revolution, and Peking is exerting an effort to gain a foothold on the continent, perhaps nations in the Western Hemisphere should learn to identify "communist China's principal Latin American objectives and the strategy [it] has been employing to gain them" so that they can develop countermeasures. Latin American governments must "guard against being lulled into a state of euphoria by the Red Guard uprisings in China" and must not assume "that Peking has abdicated to Havana's revolutionary attempts and, furthermore, that Havana is doing poorly" in South America. Although Castro-instigated guerrilla activity has subsided, the seeds of greater future turmoil have been planted. A "Movement of the Revolutionary Left," which is generally pro-Cuban but "espouses the Mao philosophy in general terms and

. . . has much closer rapport with Peking than Moscow," has been established in many Latin American countries. This "is a tempting plum for the Chinese to attempt to grab." However, the failure of Communist China and doctrinally "simpatico" Cuba to gain a foothold in Latin America has benefited the Russians.

1487
Maechling, Charles. THE NEXT DECADE IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. The Virginia quarterly review, v. 45, summer 1969: 369-385.
AP2. V76, v. 45

The era of American dominance, which lasted from World War II to the end of the Eisenhower administration, gave way to a period of uneasy equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Union characterized by a nuclear stalemate and local conflicts. This phase is now coming to an end as the world enters a critical period in international relations in which a continuation of the present turmoil and the already evident trend toward polycentrism can be expected. Nuclear proliferation appears to be inevitable, as does an increase in the relative power of the Third World vis-a-vis the West, making it more difficult if not impossible for the West--in particular the United States--to maintain its present level of military operations in these countries. At the same time, the Soviet Union has greatly increased and expanded its power while the United States faces more serious domestic problems. These changes compel a basic reevaluation of American foreign policy. The United States must reduce its overseas commitments, place greater emphasis on naval power and highly mobile ground forces, rely more on economic and technological assistance than on purely military forms of aid, and, above all, reconcile itself to a viable coexistence with the Soviet Union and China.

1488
Marshall, Charles Burton. THE LIMITS OF FOREIGN POLICY. Enl. ed. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1968] 162 p. (Johns Hopkins paperback, JH-52)
E744. M368 1968

Contents. --Publisher's note. --The limits of foreign policy. --The course of the past. --The test of the present. --Consent and coalition. --A perspective on world politics. --Afterword: 1968.

Undertakes "to acquaint Americans . . . with the inherent limits respecting foreign policy so that issues may turn on questions" of how the nation can best "fill the limits rather than on vain propositions of perfection and destructive self-reproach over failure to achieve it." Marshall explores the problem of limits analytically, surveys traditional American attitudes toward foreign policy, points to contemporary political factors that necessitate a revision of these attitudes, and applies the concept of limit in a critique of postwar U.S. foreign policy and a discussion of contemporary political issues.

1489
Mendel, Douglas H. JAPANESE POLICY AND VIEWS TOWARD FORMOSA. Journal of Asian studies, v. 28, May 1969: 513-534.
DS501. F274, v. 28

Discusses trends in the official postwar relations between Japan and Nationalist China and outlines the views of the Japanese leadership and the attitudes of the public and various interest groups in Japan concerning Taiwan. Mendel concludes that Japan will probably continue to trade with both Communist and Nationalist China but will recognize "only Taipei diplomatically until the United States openly promotes the 'one China, one Taiwan approach' so welcome to most Japanese leaders and public."

1490
Menges, Constantine C. DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY INSURGENCY AS AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 11 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3817)
AS36. R28, no. 3817
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 73.
AS36. R284, v. 6

A suggestion for an alternative to the present U.S. policy of allying the United States with regimes which have proven inefficient, corrupt, and unable to resist communist movements. Repeated experience has demonstrated that such alliances have prevented or severely limited the capacity of the United States to promote any kind of permanent social-economic change, ultimately fueling a new outburst. An alternative would be to unite and support the best persons within the major social institutions in a cohesive movement opposed to both the corrupt government and the communist insurgency. This democratic revolutionary movement, as the new legal regime, might then lay the ground work for permanent change rather than continuous repression under different labels. (Abstract supplied)

1491
Neal, Fred Warner. COEXISTENCE, AFTER CZECHOSLOVAKIA. War/peace report, v. 9, Jan. 1969: 3-6.
JX1901. W38, v. 9

The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia has ressurected the problem of defining the respective core interests of Washington and Moscow, a core interest being one that "a state regards as so vital to its existence that it would react to a threat to the core interest as if its own existence were threatened." Quite naturally the Soviet Union regards Eastern Europe as one of its core interests, and rightly so in view of its role in World War II and the Teheran and Yalta agreements. Although the United States has paid lip service to the idea of liberating Eastern Europe, it has not seriously challenged Soviet interests there. In the wake of the Czechoslovak crisis, however, both superpowers have voiced threats against each other's core interests: the Soviet Union by asserting its right to intervene unilaterally in West Germany or in any Socialist country, the United States by indicating it is prepared to extend NATO protection to Yugoslavia and Rumania. It is imperative, therefore, that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States meet as soon as possible to clarify what each regards as its core interests in order to restore a stable peace.

1492
NIXON, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD. International journal, v. 24, spring 1969: 205-338.
D839. I5, v. 24

Contents. --The United States as a global power, by Alastair Buchan. --The American problem, by John W. Holmes. --Whither containment? by Norman A. Graebner. --Patterns of devolution: disengagement without desertion, by George Liska. --Europe's future

challenges, by Curt Gasteyger.--Les problèmes de l'Europe et de l'Atlantique vus de France, by Jean-Baptiste Duroselle.--The campaign, Nixon, and American Atlantic policy, by G. M. Craig.--Nixon's economic opportunities, by H. E. English.--Nixon and arms control, by Michael E. Sherman.

Examines the major international issues facing the United States under its new administration with an emphasis on problems of the Atlantic Alliance and East-West relations in Europe. Buchan concludes his general assessment of America's position in the world with the warning that the greatest danger today, short of nuclear war itself, is that the United States will become "self-isolated by the magnitude and dynamism of its power and the starkness of its own problems."

1493
NOTES AND COMMENT: SCANDINAVIAN PERSPECTIVES. International journal, v. 24, spring 1969: 339-366. D839.I5, v. 24

Contents.--The future of the Scandinavian security system, by Nils Andrén.--"The Finnish model," neutral states and European security, by Klaus Törnudd.--A Norwegian look into the early 'seventies, by Johan J. Holst.

Examines aspects of the foreign policies of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. Andrén sketches the lineaments of an informal "Scandinavian security system" linking these four countries and attempts to identify political trends in the region. Törnudd compares the Finnish neutrality model with the neutral policies of Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia. Holst tries to predict the response of Norwegian foreign policymakers to a variety of alternative political developments in the next half decade.

1494
Pauker, G. J. THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 9 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3828) AS36.R28, no. 3828
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 74.
AS36.R284, v. 6

Statement to the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives, suggesting general directions for U.S. and Asian political affairs. American experience in Southeast Asia has shown that intervention should be considered only when the major Asian balance of power is in danger from a nation or coalition with hegemonial ambitions. Insurgency and subversion should be countered through ad hoc security arrangements among Southeast Asian and Southwest Pacific countries, including Australia and New Zealand. The U.S. role would be to furnish an overall nuclear deterrent against massive conventional attacks and to supply industrial resources so as to coordinate the military capabilities of Southeast Asian nations. The United States need not actually participate in the defense plans of those nations. (Abstract supplied)

1495
PEKING-MOSCOW RELATIONS. China news analysis, no. 752, Apr. 11, 1969: 1-7; no. 753, Apr. 18: 1-7. DS777.55.C4469, 1969

Contents.--pt. 1. The precedents: The conflict and the world. Will Peking change? The years before 1966. During the cultural revolution. After Czechoslovakia. --pt. 2. The present position: The new tsars. Limited sovereignty. Fear. Sensitive border; Mongolia and Sinkiang.

Reviews the recent history of relations between Communist China and the Soviet Union. The uneasiness in Peking that resulted from the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and from the doctrine of limited sovereignty by which Russia rationalized this act are noted. The Chinese are particularly concerned about Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang Province, which are vulnerable to Soviet attack.

1496
Ra'anan, Uri. SOVIET GLOBAL POLICY & THE MIDDLE EAST. Midstream, v. 15, May 1969: 3-13. DS149.A336, v. 15

The Soviet Union has committed itself to protect revolutionary democratic regimes in Asia and Africa but has lacked the power to protect its own interests. Thus within several years the Brezhnev regime has saddled its commitments "with a 'credibility gap' of vast proportions"; Soviet protection did not prevent the overthrow of leftist regimes in some four or five revolutionary democracies or prevent others from losing wars and considerable territory. These global setbacks--especially the 6-day war--and the resulting credibility gap have affected Soviet leaders. They have lost prestige in East Europe, and the 6-day war has become "a convenient symbol . . . in the fight against Soviet domination of Eastern Europe." The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia can be understood only in this context; if the Soviet Union had let Pregue slip from its grasp, it would never again have been taken seriously in Eastern Europe or elsewhere. The polarization of the Middle East that resulted from the 6-day war has not been advantageous to the Russians. They have been left with thrice-defeated regimes, and the U.S. 6th Fleet has effectively neutralized the Soviet naval squadrons in the area. The West must realize that the recent Soviet plan for the Middle East--a forced Israeli withdrawal to the pre-June 1967 situation--was merely an attempt to keep Nasser in power and regain Egyptian territory at no cost to the Soviet Union. The United States must direct talks toward a different goal; the institutionalization of a bilateral tacit agreement between superpowers is worth discussing, but the imposition of a one-sided solution is not. A possible U.S.-Soviet understanding could include agreement that neither side will intervene directly in the Middle East provided the other party does not, that renewed fighting in the area should be limited to five or six days through a Security Council cease-fire order, and that the superpowers shall bring about a cease-fire if vital Middle Eastern population centers are endangered. Such an agreement would allow "the local peoples to work out their own destiny." A U.S. presence in the region is necessary to restrain Soviet actions.

1497
Rapacki, Zbigniew. [THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND POLAND] Die Bundesrepublik und Polen. Neue Rundschau, v. 80, no. 1, 1969: 136-146. AP30.N5, v. 80

Analyzes legal and political aspects of West German-Polish relations and discusses prospects for accommodation between the two states. Rapacki lists obstacles to improvement of the relationship: Warsaw's

hostile reaction to West German initiatives for détente and the West German Roman Catholic hierarchy's negative attitude toward changing the status of the Polish Church administration in Poland's western territories, which formerly belonged to the German Reich.

1498
Rasch, Harold. [BONN AND MOSCOW] Bonn und Moskau. Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, v. 14, Feb. 1969: 125-131.
D839.B57, v. 14

The most important task of West German foreign policy "is to establish and maintain more satisfactory relations with the U.S.S.R." This task requires normalization of the German Federal Republic's relations with the German Democratic Republic and East European nations, recognition by Bonn of the Oder-Neisse boundary, and the Federal Republic's declaration that the Potsdam agreement is null and void. Unless West Germany takes these steps, it cannot hope for improvement of Bonn-Moscow relations. By its efforts to place the German Democratic Republic in political isolation, Bonn most probably induced the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. Since West Germany is militarily indefensible, only a policy of peace, aimed at regional disarmament and East-West détente, can guarantee the nation's security. For this reason Bonn should abandon whatever hopes it has for nuclear arms sharing. Only after the two German states withdraw from their respective military alliances can German reunification become realizable.

1499
Rogers, William P. FOREIGN RELATIONS; DISARMAMENT. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, May 1, 1969: 420-425. PN6121.V52, v. 35
"Delivered before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, March 27, 1969."

Surveys the major foreign policy issues facing the United States--the Middle East, Vietnam, and disarmament--and comments on U.S. relations with Europe, Latin America, Africa, the Soviet Union, and Communist China. Rogers notes progress in disarmament negotiations, maintains that President Nixon's Safeguard decision will not adversely affect U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks, and affirms U.S. support for an international agreement to prohibit the emplacement of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction from the seabed.

1500
Schenke, Wolf. [GERMANY--RUSSIA--CHINA; A TRIANGLE RELATIONSHIP OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE] Deutschland--Russland--China; ein Dreiecksverhältnis besonderer Bedeutung. Neue Politik, v. 14, Mar. 29, 1969: 3-5. map.
H5.N377, v. 14

Presents highlights of the German-Russian-Chinese relationship from the 19th century until the present. Schenke considers Red China the only big power that is genuinely interested in German reunification and in a united Europe. By not pursuing a realistic German reunification policy, Bonn cannot properly develop its relationship with Peking.

1501
Schiebel, Joseph. CONVERGENCE OR CONFRONTATION? THE FUTURE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. Intercollegiate review, v. 5, winter 1968/69: 101-113. illus. AP2.I64, v. 5

During the past 50 years, Soviet foreign policy has systematically implemented these firmly held and well-structured concepts: the need of the weaker Socialist powers to operate initially within the existing international system to defend and advance the revolution and the need to promote international conflicts among non-Communist states to "divert [their] energies and efforts . . . to serve Soviet ends." As such, an aggressive Soviet foreign policy has been constructed around the following major contradictions: the "actual and potential conflict between the United States and Japan over mastery of the West Pacific and East and Southeast Asia," the conflicts between Germany and the Western powers and among the Western powers over Germany, the conflict between colonial powers and the Third World, the tensions between the United States and its democratic allies, and the struggle between the United States and Russia, "in which the issue over which social system prevailed would be finally decided." As a long-range aim, Soviet policy will pursue in every possible way, except worldwide occupation or confrontation with the United States, a monopoly or preponderance of power, "which would be . . . an ideological and political hegemony, a Pax Sovietica."

1502
Schlesinger, Arthur M. THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE; IDEAS, POWER AND VIOLENCE IN AMERICA. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1969. xvii, 313 p.
HN57.S353

Partial contents. --Foreword. --Violence as an American way of life. --The intellectual and American society. --The origins of the cold war: The rise of revisionism. Universalism. Spheres of influence. The American analysis. Confusions at the summit. The asymmetry of totalitarianism. Confrontation. --Vietnam; lessons of the tragedy: The legacy of collective security. The legacy of liberal evangelism. The legacy of geopolitics. The legacy of conservative absolutism. The rise of the warrior class. The nemesis of universalism. The last hurrah of the superpowers. After the superpowers. --Joe College, R.I.P. --The prospects for politics.

Warns that America, faced with a crisis in the development of its national character and in its relationships with the world, can endure only if it will submit to a comprehensive reassessment of its institutions and values. Encouraged by signs that this reassessment is already underway, Schlesinger expresses the hope that America is advancing toward a "wider awareness of [its] limitations and frailties, a deeper comprehension of [its] predicament and a new determination to fulfill the ideals on which the nation was established."

1503
Schramm, Werner. [THE NEAR EAST POWDER KEG] Pulverfass Nahost. Zeitwende, v. 40, Feb. 1969: 73-76. BR4.Z83, v. 40

Considers the Soviet Near East policy and points out that the West's stronger economic position and Red China's stronger psychological-propagandistic one in the Arab world limit the Soviet Union's capability for political maneuvering in the area.

1504
Seki, Hiroharu. INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE POSTWAR JAPANESE DIPLOMACY. Developing economies, v. 6, Dec. 1968: 425-445.
HC59.7.D4, v. 6

Focuses on Japan's post-World War II international relations. Seki concludes that Japan must abandon its one-sided pro-American attitude and establish "completely new policies of Japan's neutrality by the restoration of diplomatic relations with Communist China."

1505
Semidei, Manuela. [FOREIGN POLICY REAPPRAISED] La politique étrangère en question? Revue française de science politique, v. 19, Apr. 1969: 287-315.
JA11.R6, v. 19

Discusses the "great debate" sparked by the Vietnam War that centers on the issue of American interventionism. Semidei believes there are three schools of thought on this problem: The imperial school, the multipolar school, and the moderate interventionist school. Those representing all three agree that the United States should act in a lower key in future foreign policy questions, and the author concludes that the Nixon administration seems to be moving in this direction.

1506
Sheridan, Henry P. CHINA'S SEARCH FOR A NEW FOREIGN POLICY. Eastern world, v. 23, Mar./Apr. 1969: 7-8. DS501.E45, v. 23

Communist China, whose diplomacy has been repulsed everywhere and whose overseas party apparatus is in a shambles, is awakening to the fact of its almost total isolation from the rest of the international community. To a large extent, its failures abroad stem from the distractions of the cultural revolution at home, and it is no coincidence that a significant new departure in Chinese foreign policy--the offer to reconvene the Sino-American discussions in Warsaw--comes close on the heels of a sharp diminution of the domestic power struggle. It now appears that China would like to become actively involved in the progress of U.S.-Soviet relations to drive a wedge between the superpowers. At this stage, both the Soviet Union and China are playing a curious game: Each accuses the other of collaboration with the United States, but each is secretly "prepared to come to a rapprochement with the United States at the cost and to the disadvantage of the other." The border clashes in Siberia are being provoked by China to prove that the Russians are no military threat and that China neither loves nor fears them. The Soviet Union has made some effort at a rapprochement, but China, conscious of its "role as a much coveted lever in the big game of world power politics," is not inclined to cooperate.

1507
Skvortsov, Lev V. THE PRESENT-DAY STRUGGLE OF IDEAS AND THE CONCEPT OF "IDEOLOGICAL DISARMAMENT." Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, Mar. 5, 1969: 8-9.
D839.C87, v. 21
Translated and condensed from Pravda, Feb. 7, 1969.
Slav Rm

Since the Vietnam War has demonstrated the futility of the U.S. foreign policy, the imperialists have made efforts to develop a new approach to the struggle against communism. Emphasis has been given to stirring up revolutionary changes within the Socialist community by encouraging various forms of nationalism to destroy the international unity of the Socialist forces from within. This concept has found its expression in the "theory of convergence," which hypothesizes a rapprochement and transformation of capitalism and socialism into a single "deideologized" industrial society. The plan also included the idea of "mutual concessions" in the ideological area as a precondition of a rapprochement. However, this is, in reality, an attempt to replace Marxism-Leninism by a bourgeois ideology. In support of this idea, bourgeois propaganda recommends the acceptance of a true, humane socialism, which really is an "ideological disarmament of socialism" and is designed to isolate the Communist and workers' parties and democratic institutions from the masses. The accomplices of the bourgeoisie among the revisionists have taken over this idea and call themselves champions of a humane, nationalist socialism. The Western bourgeois theorists and strategists are divided into two groups--the realists and the utopians. The realists want to achieve military superiority over the Socialist world and are waiting for a suitable moment to destroy socialism. The utopians, such as Arnold Toynbee and J. Freedman, are hoping that changes in the world will make possible the creation of supranational institutions to solve the social problems that arise. They want to prove that "monopoly capital" and the political domination of the bourgeoisie can achieve "the humanism of our times" without eliminating the system of private ownership. This, of course, is pure utopianism, because real humanism can be achieved only by the replacement of capitalism with socialism and communism.

1508
STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. OF JUNE 13, 1969, DELIVERED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. New times, no. 25, June 25, 1969: 35-40.
D839.N483, 1969

Sets forth the Soviet case on the Sino-Soviet border dispute in reply to China's statement of May 24, 1969. The Soviet Government contends that the Chinese are claiming territories gained through military conquest long before the present border took shape, that the so-called "unequal treaties" of the mid-19th century were in fact arrived at through mutual consultations, that Mao personally acknowledged this in the 1940's, and that the Chinese are responsible for the border incidents and the failure of negotiations on border questions.

1509
Strauss, Franz J. GERMANY'S PEACE POLICY SINCE THE CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS. Central Europe journal, v. 17, Apr. 1969: 119-121.
DB200.7.S74, v. 17

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia has shown how illusory were the hopes of German Social Democrats that a policy of rapprochement toward the Soviet bloc would bring about a basic change in East-West relations. The German Federal Republic's Eastern policy should, of course, be to pursue peace, but it must be without illusions. Now, as previously, the threat hangs over the Federal Republic that the Soviet Union will insist on its victors' rights according to the UN Charter, which grants it the right of intervention, and

that it would like to use the nonproliferation treaty as an instrument of discrimination against the free part of Germany. Yet the Bonn administration is not about to capitulate to Soviet demands. Soviet tanks cannot permanently succeed in impeding European mutual reconciliation. The Germans know, however, that if they wish to retain their freedom, they will have to defend it. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1510
SUMMITRY AND EASTERN EUROPE [editorial] ACEN news, no. 139, Mar./Apr. 1969: 1-2.
D1050.A15, 1969

In the present difficult world situation a substantive discussion with the Soviet Union can hardly be dismissed by President Nixon. Yet it is practically unknown if the Soviet Union wants a relaxation in tensions and, if so, under what conditions. It could prove its willingness to cooperate by withholding military aid to Hanoi and thus pressing the North Vietnamese leadership into less intransigency at the Paris talks. But the end of the Vietnam War might not be in the Soviet interest since aid to Hanoi is only $2 billion as compared to the $30 billion spent in Vietnam by the United States, and the war generates a welcome unrest among the U.S. population. At the next U.S.-Soviet meeting the Soviet leaders might demand, in exchange for some assistance in the Vietnam crisis, a tacit agreement, which would legitimize the Brezhnev doctrine and make the spheres of influence in Europe immutable. The U.S.S.R. might gain the freedom to deal strictly with the dissidents within its own orbit. Eastern Europe may not seem important enough to the United States to impede negotiations with Russia, but without peace in Europe, which cannot be secured as long as the Continent is divided, no lasting world peace can be achieved.

1511
Swamy, Subramanian. THE EMERGING DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD POWER; ISSUES OF DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 70'S. In United Service Institution of India, New Delhi. Journal, v. 98, Apr./June 1968: 116-125. UL.U5, v. 98

The superpowers--the United States, the Soviet Union and China--have recognized India's ability to challenge the world balance of power that they have established. Thus they have attempted to reduce India's influence through the nonproliferation treaty, the awarding of Indian territory to Pakistan and China, and the promotion of subversive activities in Nagaland. India's foreign policy must combat these activites of the superpowers; to do this, India must produce nuclear weapons and generally strengthen its defense. While many in India argue for a foreign-based nuclear deterrent, "the probability of an unconditional response by a guarantor is quite small and . . . the price [India] will have to pay for this unlikely response in terms of national sovereignty is excessive." Moreover, India has an impressive natural nuclear endowment and could organize "a five-year nuclear weapons plan [that] would require less than 8% of [its] current defence budget to produce a New Delhi based nuclear deterrent against China." Such a program would probably aid India's industrial growth and provide Indian scientists with an "opportunity to discover new scientific truths in nuclear power and electronics which can later be used to stimulate economic growth."

1512
Tekiner, Suleiman. THE ROLE OF CENTRAL ASIA IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. Studies on the Soviet Union, v. 7, no. 4, 1968: 62-77.
DK1.S75, v. 7

Discusses the role of central Asia in Soviet foreign policy from 1919 to the present and emphasizes the importance of this region in the expansion of Soviet influence in Asia and the Third World. Tekiner reviews the role of central Asia in Sino-Soviet relations and notes the participation of central Asian delegates in several important international conferences--Delhi (1955), Cairo (1957), Stalinabad (1960), Havana (1966), Tashkent (1966), and Beirut (1967).

1513
Tripathi, K. S. CHINA'S NUCLEAR POTENTIAL AND ITS FOREIGN POLICY. In United Service Institution of India, New Delhi. Journal, v. 98, July/Sept. 1968: 246-256. UL.U5, v. 98

China has developed a nuclear capability to aid in its pursuit of certain foreign policy objectives--national security, the restoration of China's greatness, and eventual world leadership. The Chinese nuclear capability has upset the balance of power in Asia and has forced India to consider the development of a nuclear potential to restore the military equilibrium; it could enable China to "increasingly use guerrillas and other limited war tactics, to promote her global interests, trusting that her nuclear weapons would prevent the major world powers from escalating the conflict." China will probably not become more responsible and might "unleash the uncontrollably destructive powers of the hydrogen bomb and reduce the world, including herself, into" rubble. The international community must prevent such a horrifying political crime by exerting efforts to bring China into the United Nations, to subject it to the code of international behavior, and to impress upon it the folly of uncompromising political dogma.

1514
Triska, Jan F., and David D. Finley. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. New York, Macmillan [1968] xix, 518 p.
DK63.3.T74
Bibliography: p. 440-473.

Partial contents.--Introduction.--From socialism in one country to socialism in one region: an interpretation of the five decades of Soviet foreign policy.--Institutions of Soviet foreign policy.--The men who make Soviet foreign policy.--Doctrine and events in Soviet foreign policy.--The Soviet Union and the world Communist system.--Processes and institutions in the world Communist system.--The Soviet Union and the developing areas.--The Soviet Union and the West.--The Soviet Union: reckless or cautious?--The Soviet Union and international organization.--The Soviet Union and international law: Soviet treaties.--Conclusion.

An examination of Soviet foreign policy with an emphasis on Soviet decisionmaking processes, which uses quantitative analysis wherever possible. After presenting a brief historical orientation, Triska and Finley analyze "the process of Soviet foreign policy decision-making . . . in terms of the four complex variables of role structure, personality, the belief system, and events." This analysis is then applied to specific areas of concern, including the Soviet Union's relationship to and participation in international organizations.

1515
THE TWO DOCTRINES [editorial] ACEN news, no. 138, Jan./Feb. 1969: 1-2. D1050.A15, 1969

The "Brezhnev doctrine" arbitrarily assigns to the Soviet Union the right and duty to intervene in any Socialist country that is threatened by internal or external counterrevolutionary forces. The doctrine has been compared to the Monroe Doctrine as neither is part of a constitution or is backed by international law. However, the premises and objectives of the two doctrines are basically different. The Monroe Doctrine is geographically defined and defensive, bars colonialism, and allows countries to develop their own institutions. The Brezhnev doctrine extends all over the world, is colonialist and openly interventionist, and imposes the Kremlin's supervision on the countries' political and economic systems. Does this mean that there is no hope of freedom for Eastern Europe? Hardly. The return to Stalinism is not easy, and the Soviet Union is becoming dangerously overextended. It is spending $2 billion per year in Vietnam and $400 million per year in Cuba, and the actual outlay of its defense expenditures is probably close to $50 billion; i.e., 15 percent of its gross national product. The burden must be borne by the increasingly reluctant consumers, who may join with the restive intellectuals and the younger generation, which is no longer deceived by Soviet propaganda, to bolster troubles on the home front. Internal weakness might hasten colonial disintegration and eventually bring freedom to the East European countries.

1516
THE USSR IN TODAY'S WORLD. Edited by Festus Justin Viser. Memphis, Memphis State University Press, 1969. 73 p. (The M. L. Seidman memorial town hall lecture series, 1967-68)
DK274.U25

Contents.--Preface.--The USSR in East Europe, by Ferenc Nagy.--The Soviet citizen, today's forgotten man, by G. Warren Nutter.--Russia versus China, global conflict? by Harrison Salisbury.

Series of three lectures that deal with various aspects of Russia today. Nagy examines the Soviet Union's role in Eastern Europe, and Salisbury surveys various Sino-Russian problems.

1517
Van der Kroef, Justus M. [AUSTRALIA IS RETHINKING ITS FOREIGN POLICY] L'Australie révise sa politique étrangère. Politique étrangère, v. 34, no. 2, 1969: 117-132. JX3.P6, v. 34

Australia will have a choice to make after the Vietnam War. Some Australians advocate disengagement from Southeast Asia, while others think that Australia, an Asian nation, must emphasize its aid to the countries of this region of the world and must not become isolationist with egotistical preoccupations. The historic ties with Great Britain are coming undone. Is it necessary to reinforce those strategic ties that bind Australia to the United States? This very day it appears that Australia feels strong enough to support a moderate immigration of non-Europeans and, above all, adult enough to take an independent position vis-a-vis its traditional allies. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1518
[VIETNAM] Australian outlook, v. 23, Apr. 1969: 7-80. DU80.A947, v. 23

Contents.--The Vietnamese perception of the identity of the state: absolute ideals and the necessity to compromise, by Milton Osborne.--Vietnam and the future of Southeast Asia. I, by Geoffrey Fairbairn.--Vietnam and the future of Southeast Asia. II, by Graeme Duncan.--Australian military problems in Vietnam, by Robert O'Neill.--The Vietnam War and the Australian party system, by D. W. Rawson.--Lessons from Vietnam, by J. D. B. Miller.

Articles on Vietnamese political ideals, the pros and cons of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, and the relevance of the war and its outcome for Australian foreign and military policy.

1519
VonGleich, A. GERMANY AND LATIN AMERICA. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 124 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5523-RC) Q180.A1R36, no. 5523
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 48. AS36.R284, v. 6

An analysis of the political, economic, and cultural relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with Latin America. The Federal Republic's position as second ranking commercial partner with Latin America, the importance of Latin America to German private investment, and German development aid are discussed. The Federal Republic's foreign policy toward Latin America is largely a reflex of West German political, economic, and cultural concerns that derive from the foreign policy goal of establishing the Federal Republic as the only legitimate representative of the German people. The diversity in origin and in political outlook of German ethnic groups in Latin America has created special problems for the Federal Republic's diplomatic and cultural activities. East Germany's relations with Latin America, and its increasing efforts to compete with the Federal Republic, are briefly examined. (Abstract supplied)

1520
Weber, Theodore R. RECONCILIATION AS A FOREIGN POLICY METHOD. Religion in life, v. 38, spring 1969: 40-54. BR1.R28, v. 38
Third article in a section entitled "Go . . . be reconciled."

Defines reconciliation as "the overcoming of the hostility, egoism, and fear that divide men from God and from one another" and inquires into its use as a political method. Weber contends that reconciliation as a foreign policy method is intent upon transcending the "immanent political reality by way of shaping the daily exercise of national power with the affirmation of communitary tendencies and possibilities in international relations."

1521
Whiting, Allen S. HOW WE ALMOST WENT TO WAR WITH CHINA. Look, v. 33, Apr. 29, 1969: 76-77, 79. illus. AP2.L79, v. 33

Outlines the increasing Chinese commitment to North Vietnam in response to U.S. escalation and emphasizes "the nearness of an open Sino-American conflict over Vietnam." Whiting contends that the United States must

learn what constitutes its vital interests in Asia or it "will continue to place the military, eventually the nuclear, power of China and the United States in direct confrontation."

1522
Wolf, Charles. JAPAN-U.S. RELATIONS AND ASIAN DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 8 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3825) AS36.R28, no. 3825
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 74.
AS36.R284, v. 6

A discussion of current economic concepts of regionalism and "second-best" worlds as they relate to problems of United States and Japanese aid programs in less developed countries. Multicountry associations have been formed for many purposes with varying success. In the economic field, the most reliable criterion for membership appears to be common purpose combined with divergent capabilities rather than geographical proximity. In spite of some differences, both United States and Japanese aid programs confront the same basic problems in understanding and influencing development in the less developed countries. Experience seems to indicate that people, policies, and politics, not investment, are the controlling factors. This paper was prepared for a conference on Japan-U.S. Relations and Asian Security Problems held April 1-4, 1968. (Abstract supplied)

1523
Yntema, Theodore O. THE CHANGING PROFILE OF WORLD COMMUNISM; A NEW CHALLENGE FOR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. Saturday review, v. 52, June 14, 1969: 15-18.
Z1219.S25, v. 52

America's foreign policy should reflect the knowledge that communism will fail in Russia, as in all advanced countries. Therefore, when Russia attempts to abandon Marxism, the United States should neither sympathize too openly nor make it more difficult "by carrying the torch against communism." Instead, it should promote cultural exchanges, expand trade, join with Russia to relieve tensions, and explore possibilities for arms limitation; however, it should proceed cautiously since the Russian Communist Party "may be doubly dangerous just because it is losing the ideological basis for its claim to power." The longrun prospect for resolving differences between the United States and Communist countries peacefully appears good, even though the potential conflicts between nation-states will continue. The United States should avoid complicating these conflicts "by aggression against communism per se." The fate of capitalism will be decided in the United States rather than in a "quixotic crusade against communism in other lands."

II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

A. MODERN WAR

1524
Achmann, Klaus. [CYBERNETICS AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDUCT OF WAR] Kybernetik und psychologische Kriegführung. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Mar. 1969: 143-145. U3.W396, v. 18

Considers the "rule-circle model of influencing an enemy's behavior through cybernetic methods. Ach-Achmann concludes that factors of uncertainty make it impossible to construct a general strategic concept of the conduct of psychological war. However, it is possible to construct the model for limited objectives. The relationship between psychological and subversive warfare is also discussed.

1525
A CLOSER LOOK AT THE HAWKER SIDDELEY HARRIER. Interavia, v. 24, May 1969: 569-572. illus. TL500.I55, v. 24

Describes Great Britain's ground attack reconnaissance aircraft--the Hawker Siddeley Harrier--with special emphasis upon design aims, V/STOL features, takeoff and landing procedures, and different versions. The aircraft's success is attributed to the reconciliation of "aerodynamic, propulsion, structural and controllability conflicts which have for so long denied the practical provision of satisfactory zero speed and transonic speed capability in a single vehicle."

1526
DeWeerd, Harvey A. THE TRIUMPH OF THE LIMITERS: KOREA. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 16 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3949) AS36.R28, no. 3949

Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 86. AS36.R284, v. 6

The Korean War was a worldwide surprise, since the general belief was that the next war would be a total one, characterized by strategic bombing with nuclear weapons. Both sides at the outset experienced shortages of men and material and uncertainty of enemy intentions that set the limits for the war. However, later limitations by the Truman Administration were determined by the war's essential ineffectiveness in unifying Korea and the desire not to escalate to W.W. III. The frustrations of limited war led to the Dulles Massive Retaliation doctrine, which, however, did not keep the U.S. out of further wars. The nuclear stalemate has in fact made limited war the most likely form of international conflict. (Abstract supplied, modified).

1527
Fairbairn, Geoffrey. REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE AND COMMUNIST STRATEGY: THE THREAT TO SOUTH-EAST ASIA. London, Faber [1968] 286 p. maps. DS518.1.F26
Bibliography: p. 272-279.

Contents. --Introduction. --The battleground. --The South-East Asian scene. --The beginnings of insurgency. --Nationalism at bay. --Communist revolutionary doctrines. --The nature of revolutionary guerrilla warfare. --The problems confronting counter-insurgency. --The general nature of the struggle in Vietnam. --Vietnam: the Vietminh revolution. --Vietnam: the assault on South Vietnam. --Retrospect. --Bibliography. --Index.

Discusses the nature of Communist revolutionary warfare and the threat it poses to the West. Fairbairn contends that the war in Vietnam is no mere brush fire but rather an integral facet of overall Communist strategy to gain control over the underdeveloped world. Western withdrawal from the struggle against guerrilla warfare would lead to "vast totalitarian victories in the whole of the under-developed and, for the most part, uncommitted area that now lies between the territories that divide the Free from the Communist World," drastically altering the balance of power. The author emphasizes the importance that Communist leaders attach to "a weakening of American resolve"--hence the effort they devote to the encouragement of antiwar sentiment in the West.

1528
Jones, Roy E. NUCLEAR DETERRENCE: A SHORT POLITICAL ANALYSIS. London, Routledge & K. Paul; New York, Humanities Press, 1968. 113 p. (Library of political studies) U162.6.J65
Bibliography: p. 110-113.

Partial contents. --The nature of deterrence. --The nuclear component. --Credibility. --Massive retaliation and controlled reprisal. --The analysis of foreign policy. --Deterrence and foreign policy goals. --Some problems of deterrence decision-making. --General problems. --The balance of risk and expectations. --Violence and the status quo.

Defines nuclear deterrence and discusses its implications in international politics. Jones believes absolute symmetrical deterrence is impossible because it eliminates uncertainty and maximizes penalties: The only choice for the international community would be between absolute stability and absolute destruction. He concludes with a comparison between the traditional and the nuclear balance of power.

1529
Korzun, L. MAN AND EQUIPMENT ON THE BATTLEFIELD. Soviet military review, June 1969: 21-23. illus. U1.S7, 1969

Assesses the role of man and equipment in modern warfare. Korzun points out that the increasing complexity of weapons and combat equipment, combined with "the growing material supply of troops," complicates the organization and conduct of modern warfare and places greater demands on man in battle.

1530
Langer, Paul F. LAOS: SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDST OF WAR. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1967. 16 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3748)
AS36. R28, no. 3748
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 67.
AS36. R284, v. 6

Surveys political and economic developments in Laos during 1967. Neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma renewed his attempts to promote national integration and cohesion through economic development, education, and administrative measures. As in previous years, the U. S. foreign aid program provided funds for the struggle against the Pathet Lao, resettlement of refugees, and economic development. No striking change occurred in the military situation during 1967. The Pathet Lao and their North Vietnamese sponsors continued to hold almost half of Laos, but they controlled no more than 20 percent of the total population. Statements of Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese prisoners and defectors confirm that the North Vietnamese have come to play an important role in maintaining a high level of insurgency in Laos. (Abstract supplied)

1531
London. Institute for Strategic Studies. PROBLEMS OF MODERN STRATEGY. London, 1969. 2 v. (Its Adelphi papers, no. 54-55)
U162. A3, no. 54-55

Contents.--pt. 1. The evolution of modern strategic thought, by Raymond Aron. The classical strategists, by Michael Howard. Social systems analysis and the study of international conflict, by Kenneth E. Boulding. The reappraisal of limited war, by Robert E. Osgood. --pt. 2. The ethical problem of modern strategy, by Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker. Arms control: a stocktaking and prospectus, by Hedley Bull. Technology, politics, and strategy, by Bernard Brodie. Great power intervention in the modern world, by Urs Schwarz. The strategic uses of revolutionary war, by Brian Crozier.

Selected papers and speeches from the tenth annual conference of the Institute for Strategic Studies, held in September 1968 at Oxford.

1532
Maxwell, Stephen. RATIONALITY IN DETERRENCE. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1968. 19 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 50)
U162. A3, no. 50
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

A critique of various strategies based on the principle of the "rationality of the irrational." Maxwell seeks to demonstrate that this concept is logically consistent, given a definition of rational as that which accords with one's particular values, but he nevertheless discovers numerous difficulties in attempting to apply this concept to practical situations.

1533
O'Ballance, Edgar. A FOURTH DIMENSION OF WAR. In United Service Institution of India, New Delhi, Journal, v. 98, July/Sept. 1968: 257-262.
U1. U5, v. 98

In future wars, underground activity will offer definite advantages. Armies could live underground to escape the fallout hazard of nuclear war and could fight underground as an alternative to a costly frontal assault against a well-entrenched and well-prepared enemy. Underground warfare is not mere armchair speculation; it has been used before, and the Vietcong are developing it in Vietnam. Aggressive tunneling will depend upon technical knowledge, navigation, suitable ground, and manpower; in a technical nation, mechanical aids can be used to remove soil. Counters against underground warfare are many: grenades, flamethrowers, and dynamite to destroy entrance cavities; colored smoke to discover such cavities; and water combined with colored smoke to flush the enemy out of his tunnels. More experiences are needed, but "perhaps a good guiding rule might be that the best counter would be to beat the enemy at his own game--in short, to get underground and go one better. . . . Perhaps many of the wiles and tricks of jungle warfare could be adapted to trap and kill [the enemy] in his tunnels." Further thought should be devoted to the matter.

1534
Reinhardt, George C. AMERICA'S CROSSROADS--VIETNAM. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1967. 21 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3710)
AS36. R28, no. 3710
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 66.
AS36. R284, v. 6

Surveys U. S. involvement in Vietnam and examines U. S. policy alternatives in the context of the traditional American ideal of freedom. The United States has the alternatives of (1) withdrawal, (2) continuing a war of attrition, (3) negotiation, and (4) an integrated military-political-economic strategy scheduled to achieve significant results within a specified time. American traditions and present commitments require meeting Communism's threat in Vietnam in terms of the fourth alternative. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1535
Rochberg, R. H. STROP: PLAYER'S MANUAL FOR JOSS VERSION. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1967. 74 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5466-PR) Q180. A1R36, no. 5466
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 46.
AS36. R284, v. 6

A manual of procedures for using the JOSS system to play the two-sided nuclear war game STROP as a player-participant exercise. The manual contains instructions for players, a description of the implementation of the game, input data, and a copy of the computer routine. The game is concerned with both the selection of forces and the choice of attack (or defense) strategies. Given the same fixed budget and starting inventory of weapons and value targets, each team (Red and Blue) makes allocation decisions for R&D and forces procurement and adopts a strategy for offense and one for defense. The computer then evaluates the results of a war fought according to these decisions and provides two itemized lists of losses for each team (Red and Blue attacking, perspectively). The game requires the use of three JOSS consoles, one for each player and one for the monitor. It is useful as a relatively simple aggregated war model or as an easily played demonstration of a man-machine war game. Players with little or no previous experience with JOSS or war games can perform a series of STROP exercises on the JOSS consoles. A detailed discussion

of the STROP model is given in RM-4817-PR [abstracted as item 978 in v. 3, no. 3, of this bibliography]. (Abstract supplied)

1536
Strauch, R. E. 'SHELL GAME' ASPECTS OF MOBILE TERMINAL ABM SYSTEMS. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1967. 53 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5474-ARPA)
Q180. A1R36, no. 5474
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 46.
AS36. R284, v. 6

A two-person zero-sum game is used to model the mobile defense problem in order to examine, in the context of terminal ballistic missile defense, the advantages that accrue to the defender from being able to deny the attacker knowledge of the defense deployment. The marginal exchange ratio is shown to be quite favorable to the defender using mobile interceptors if the fraction of the target system that he wishes to protect is small. A combination of mobile defense and deceptive basing appears to be an extremely attractive defense option, since the mobile defense raises the price the attacker must pay to destroy a single target, while the deceptive basing increases the number of targets at which he must pay that price. (See also RM5480 ARPA.) (Abstract supplied)

1537
Wood, David. CONFLICT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1968. 27 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 48)
U162. A3, no. 48

Contents.--Introduction.--Wars and armed conflicts, 1898-1967: a chronology.--Conclusions.--Tables: Number of conflicts by decade and area. Number of conflicts by decade and description. Some major conflicts of the twentieth century.

Examines the distribution, scale, and nature of conflict from 1898 to the present. For purposes of this examination, Wood defines conflict as "a situation where the regular armed forces of a country or community are involved (either on both sides, or on one side only) and where weapons of war are used by them with intent to kill or wound over a period of at least one hour." He identifies 128 such conflicts, beginning with the Spanish-American War in 1898 and ending with the Nigerian civil war, which is still in progress. He notes a decline in the frequency of conflict between states but an increase in the frequency of conflict within states and attempts to account for this in historical terms. He finds no evidence that the world today suffers from a greater amount of conflict, though there may be more "violence."

1538
Zasloff, J. J. ORIGINS OF THE INSURGENCY IN SOUTH VIETNAM, 1954-1960: THE ROLE OF THE SOUTHERN VIETMINH CADRES. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 45 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5163/2-ISA/ARPA)
Q180. A1R36, no. 5163
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 43.
AS36. R284, v. 6

An examination of the experiences of the Vietminh cadres who remained in South Vietnam after 1954 and their part in organizing the Viet Cong insurgency. The experience of these Vietminh cadres under the Diem regime may have an important bearing on the conditions for a settlement of the present war. Many Viet Cong are likely to regard future promises of an amnesty with cynicism. This attitude may well be shared by the Communist leaders in Hanoi, who may also fear that any solution leaving South Vietnam under [Government of Vietnam] control would meet with the strongest objections from important segments of the Southern cadres. Negotiating a settlement with the Saigon government might strike the Northern leaders as risking the loss of their most valuable political investment: control over the Viet Cong movement in the South. (Abstract supplied)

B. MODERN WEAPONRY AND RELATED TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

1539
Andrews, Walter. NAVY GEARS UP ASW CAPABILITIES TO MEET SOVIET SLBM THREAT. Armed Forces journal, v. 106, July 19, 1969: 16-17. illus.
U1. A66, v. 106

Interview with Adm. Turner F. Caldwell, the Navy's antisubmarine warfare (ASW) director, in which he discusses the reasons for the lag in ASW capability in comparison with the buildup of the Soviet submarine-launched ballistic missile fleet and describes U.S. research and development of ASW weapons systems to counter this Soviet threat. Caldwell notes "that ASW development has so far involved few technical breakthroughs, but has consisted mainly of step-by-step advances" and concludes that the use of lasers and satellites for future underwater detection is remote because of the limitations involved.

1540
Archer, Robert D. THE SOVIET BOMBERS. Space/aeronautics, v. 51, Apr. 1969: 52-59. illus.
TL501. A8187, v. 51

Assesses Soviet policy with regard to strategic bombers and inventories Soviet bomber production since World War II. Archer notes that the Russians have introduced no basically new strategic bombers since the late 1950's but have concentrated instead on attaining fighter superiority. He relates the history and charts the basic performance characteristics of nine bombers that are now operational and compares them with their Western counterparts.

1541
Breyer, Siegfried. [SOVIET AUXILIARY AND SPECIAL SHIPS] Sowjetische Hilfs- und Spezialschiffe. Soldat und Technik, v. 12, Jan. 1969: 13-14; Feb: 76-83. illus.
U3. S58, v. 12

Discusses types and specific functions of Soviet submarine-supporting ships, which are rapidly increasing in number in the Atlantic, especially in the Baltic and the Mediterranean Seas.

1542
Bueschel, Richard M. COMMUNIST CHINESE AIR POWER. New York, Praeger [1968] 238 p. illus.
UG635. C6B8

Partial contents.--pt. 1. Communist Chinese air power: Communist China finds wings, 1923-53. The

tiger grows strong, 1954-64. Self-reliance and the future, 1965-70.--pt. 2. The aircraft of Communist China.--Selected bibliography.

Traces the development of Communist China's People's Liberation Army Air Force and describes the aircraft "flown by the Chinese Communists over the years, including those currently in use on the mainland."

1543
CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE. Peace and the sciences, Jan./Mar. 1969: 13-33.
JX1901.P25, 1969

Outlines important technical, military, and political aspects of chemical and biological warfare, including the nature and probable effects of chemical and biological weapons, their history and legal status, and the policies of the United States, Great Britain, and certain other countries on research in this field and the use of these weapons. The article concludes with proposals for changes in British policy--viz, a reaffirmation and strengthening of the Geneva Protocol; an end to information sharing with the United States, Canada, and Australia; a ban on the exportation of chemical agents; the placing of the Porton research facility under the Ministry of Health; and the publicizing of the facts about chemical and biological warfare.

1544
DESIGN AND OPERATION OF THE JAGUAR. Interavia, v. 24, May 1969: 598-601. illus.
TL500.I55, v. 24

Notes that the Jaguar was needed as a replacement for certain advanced trainer and tactical-support aircraft of the Royal and French Air Forces and reviews its design, construction, and operation.

1545
Ferguson, James. AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND: TECHNOLOGY--THE GOAL AND THE CHALLENGE. Defense industry bulletin, v. 5, May 1969: 24-34. illus.
UA23.A1D4, v. 5

Describes the Air Force Systems Command, which is charged with one of the most complex management jobs in the world--involving an annual budget of almost $8 billion. Ferguson concludes that the command's goals and challenge are identical--technology for delivering the goods needed today and preparing for those that may be required in the future.

1546
FRIEND IN CONGRESS FOR AEC. Nature (London) v. 223, July 5, 1969: 12-14.
Q1.N2, v. 223

Analyzes the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy's report on authorizing legislation for the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) in 1970 and the committee's published transcript of its hearings in Washington in April 1969. The analysis deals with those sections of the documents that cover high-energy accelerators, nuclear-fusion research, Project Plowshare, and nuclear rocket propulsion. Funds for Plowshare have been increased partly in order "that the United States can shoulder obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty to provide peaceful explosives for other states." The sea-level Isthmian Canal is the top-priority program, and the AEC is expected to make a decision on its feasibility by December 1, 1970.

1547
Galantin, I. J. [interview] NAVY INTERVIEWS ADMIRAL GALANTIN. Navy, v. 12, June 1969: 17-19. illus.
VA49.N28, v. 12

Answers queries on NATO, naval strategy, new weapons systems, ship construction, and the problem of cost overruns on defense contracts.

1548
Griffith, Winthrop. THIS IS AN ATOMIC MISSILE BASE. New York times magazine, May, 1969: 29, 31, 33, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112, 116, 118-119. illus.
AP2.N6575, 1969

An eyewitness report on the operation of a U.S. Minuteman missile complex. Griffith, recalling an authorized visit to Malmstrom Air Force Base in Montana, where he observed the daily routine of combat missile, maintenance, and security crews, describes the facilities at the base, the procedures for launching and simulating the launching of missiles, the safeguards against an accidental or unauthorized launch, and the arrangements for missile maintenance and security.

1549
Haugland, Vern. NEW FIGHTER AIRCRAFT. Ordnance, v. 53, May/June 1969: 590-593. illus.
UF1.O67, v. 53

The Navy's F-14 and the Air Force's F-15 are the only two prime fighter-type tactical aircraft scheduled for production in the 1970's. The Navy's original version, the F-14A, will be somewhat heavier and more expensive than the F-15; and will be designed for air superiority and fleet air and area defense, whereas the F-15 will be optimized for air-to-air combat requirements. The F-15 will be similar to "the F-14B and the F-14C advanced Navy versions--Mach 2.5 aircraft, able to engage in combat at ranges of 500 to 800 miles." The F-14A should make its first flight in 1971 and enter the fleet in early 1973; the advanced versions--the F-14B and the F-14C--will be operational in 1975 and 1977, respectively; and the F-15 is scheduled for operation in 1975.

1550
Hausch, John. THE NUCLEAR-POWERED AIRPLANE RISES AGAIN. Data, v. 14, Feb. 1969: 32-33. illus.
P&GP RR

Calls attention to the Department of Defense's renewed interest in a nuclear-powered airplane. With advances in reactor technology and the recent success of the C-5A in mind, many scientists and engineers are now saying that a nuclear-powered airplane could be produced by the early 1980's. Research and development costs are estimated at $4 billion.

1551
Hausch, John. OUR TACTICAL AIR FORCES ARE IN TROUBLE. Data, v. 14, Jan. 1969: 16-19. illus.
P&GP RR

Warns that the United States is falling behind the Soviet Union in tactical air strength. The United States still has a wide lead in fighter-bombers, but the Soviet Union has pushed far ahead in the design and development of air superiority aircraft. As things now stand, the United States cannot expect to have a new air superiority airplane before 1973 and, in the meantime, must depend on the 1955-vintage F-4 Phantom.

1552
Hessman, James D. RESURGENCE OF NAVAL GUNS IN THE AGE OF MISSILES. Navy, v. 12, June 1969: 32-34. illus. VA49.N28, v. 12

Discusses recent developments in naval gun design. The effectiveness of shipboard ordnance in providing fire support for ground troops in Vietnam and the recognized need for a fleet defense against cruise missiles have stimulated new interest in the naval gun, which was once thought to have outlived its usefulness.

1553
Horton, Bob. NEW NAVAL WARPLANES, WEAPONS ON THE WAY. Navy, v. 12, June 1969: 28-31. illus. VA49.N28, v. 12

Describes the new antisubmarine-warfare, interceptor, attack, and vertical-envelopment aircraft and helicopters that the Navy hopes to have operational in the early 1970's. With basic designs approved, lack of funds is the main obstacle to procurement.

1554
Leary, Frank. ANTISATELLITE DEFENSE. Space/aeronautics, v. 51, June 1969: 44-54. illus. TL501.A8187, v. 51

Examines various strategies and counterstrategies of satellite warfare and argues that the United States must intensify its efforts to defend against a possible Soviet attack using fractional orbital bombardment systems (FOBS). Leary contends that present satellite detection systems would fail to provide adequate warning of a Soviet FOBS attack and suggests that warning systems as well as antisatellite weapons be installed in the antipodal areas of either the Soviet Union (located in the South Atlantic and South Pacific) or the United States (located mainly in the Indian Ocean), or both.

1555
Leary, Frank. WHO'S WINNING THE UNDERSEA WAR? Space/aeronautics, v. 51, Feb. 1969: 42-54. illus. TL501.A8187, v. 51

Compares U.S. and Soviet undersea warfare and antisubmarine warfare capabilities. After outlining the basic characteristics of the Soviet submarine forces and calling attention to their substantial improvement in recent years, Leary reviews prospective developments in U.S. submarine and antisubmarine forces--the turboelectric-drive submarine, a high-speed escort submarine, conformal planar-array sonar, the A-New antisubmarine warfare system, sonobuoy improvements by means of Difar, and helicopter-borne sensors. He complains that the Department of Defense has obstructed progress in submarine development despite congressional support for various Navy programs.

1556
London, Michael P. VSX: SUB HUNTING FROM THE AIR. Space/aeronautics, v. 51, Apr. 1969: 42-51. illus. TL501.A8187, v. 51

Reports recent improvements in the U.S. Navy's program of antisubmarine warfare (ASW)--in particular the VSX aircraft (S-3A)--that should provide security against the growing Soviet submarine threat. London describes the capabilities and limitations of various ASW sensor devices and emphasizes the importance of the A-New integrated sensor system, which will enable a smaller crew to utilize these devices with maximum efficiency. "The S-3A with A-New capability should be operational by 1972 and can be expected to remain in service 20 years," thus assuring ASW superiority over the Soviet Union for another generation.

1557
McGarrah, Robert E. LET'S INTERNATIONALIZE DEFENSE MARKETING. Harvard business review, v. 47, May/June 1969: 146-155. HF5001.H3, v. 47

Nations that require common or widely used defense systems should give some serious thought to setting up international consortia to design and produce them. The advantages of such a defense "common market" would be substantial. Each contributing nation would receive a higher return on the resources it invested in national defense and would have better control over those balance-of-payments problems that are a usual concomitant of defense spending. The consortium would have command of greater and more varied industrial and financial capabilities than could be mustered by any single state, and larger markets would mean larger profits for participating firms. An additional advantage would be that competition among industrial nations to sell arms in the underdeveloped world would be reduced. Finally, as a particular benefit to the United States, a more equitable sharing of defense burdens would become feasible, especially in Europe. Experience with international consortia has proved that problems relating to international communications and to differences in engineering and management practices can be overcome. The problem of reconciling different methods and criteria of industrial source selection can also be resolved. The key to solving this last difficulty is the procedure of dual contract proposals, which gives the cooperating Governments the information they need to close gaps in industrial capacity, strike a balance between the desire for economic growth and the desire for greater stability in international payments, and define the meaning of "maximum returns on a (minimum) common investment."

1558
Mason, John F. ANTI-SUB WARFARE AND THE HOSTILE SEA. Electronic design, v. 17, July 5, 1969: 34-45. illus. TK7800.E437, v. 17

Discusses the latest developments in antisubmarine warfare with special emphasis on various types of sonar either planned or under study. Mason and his interviewees examine the problems involved in interpreting the voluminous and nebulous sounds present in the sea.

1559
Nelson, Richard R. BIG TECHNOLOGY, THE TECHNOLOGY GAP, AND A DANGEROUS POLICY PITFALL. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 18 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3795) AS36.R28, no. 3795
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 71. AS36.R284, v. 6

The technology gap between the United States and Europe is discussed in the context of an alleged massive U.S. support of "big science and technology," and of the unprofitable policy that could result from such an interpretation of the situation. Excepting space and defense, U.S. big science is probably less

involved in creating a technology gap than most Europeans seem to believe. Association of the economic progress of the United States with large government-financed R&D programs may not only be a mistake, but may also lead European governments to squander resources on similar programs. The United States, in turn, could be led into a meaningless and expensive technological race with Europe. (Abstract supplied)

1560
NEW BOMBER RUNS INTO OLD FLAK. Business week, no. 2070, May 3, 1969: 43-44. illus.
HF5001.B89, 1969

Presents arguments for and against the proposed new Air Force bomber, the advanced manned strategic aircraft (AMSA), and briefly traces its development. This depends upon Congress, which previously championed it but is now concerned about the soaring costs of new weapons.

1561
PLOWSHARE, POLITICS, AND PUBLIC INTEREST. Nuclear news, v. 12, May 1969: 18-20.
QC770.N75, v. 12

Reports on a speech by Representative Craig Hosmer to a symposium on the Public Health Aspects of Peaceful Nuclear Explosives, held at Las Vegas, Nevada, on April 8, 1969. Hosmer attacked opponents of Project Plowshare in the Bureau of the Budget, the State Department, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; discussed commercial aspects of the project, with particular reference to requirements imposed by the nonproliferation treaty; and called for a divorce of Plowshare research and development from the nuclear weapons program.

1562
THE POWER OF THE PENTAGON. Progressive, v. 33, June 1969: 3-58. illus.
AP2.P8655, v. 33
See also item in this bibliography.

Partial contents. --National priorities, by Richard Goodwin. --The military and foreign policy, by Fred Warner Neal. --The military budget, by Charles Schultze. --Secrecy in government, by Herbert York and Richard Goodwin. --Civilian control of the military, by George Kistiakowsky. --Missile madness, by Phillip Burton and others. --The national security state, by Marcus Raskin. --The arms race, by Jeremy Stone. --The lessons of Vietnam, by George Kahin.

Includes an edited transcript of the Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities held March 28-29, 1969, and an introductory essay by those Senators and Representatives who initiated the Conference, the purpose of which "was to articulate the basic issues of the militarization of American society for the general public as well as for Congress, and to examine concrete proposals for restoring democratic control over the military budget."

1563
SHIPBUILDING IN THE SEVENTIES. Navy, v. 12, June 1969: 22-25. illus.
VA49.N28, v. 12

Outlines the Navy's proposals for modernizing the aging U.S. Fleet. New designs for aircraft carriers, submarines, destroyers, and amphibious vessels have been approved; the major uncertainty now relates to whether Congress will appropriate sufficient funds to carry out the program.

1564
Thomer, Egbert. [DESTROYERS--BIG SHIPS OF OUR TIME] Zerstörer--Dickschiffe unserer Zeit. Atlantische Welt, v. 9, Jan. 1969: 2, 4. illus.
V3.A8, v. 9

Contends that, as long as the Soviet Navy builds destroyers, the West, including the German Federal Republic, cannot dispense with such multipurpose warships, which are most suitable for all-weather missions. Thomer gives the general specifications of destroyers that have recently been built or are being built by the German Federal Republic, Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

1565
Ulsamer, Edgar E. THE F-15: TOMORROW'S CHAMPION OF THE DOGFIGHT ARENA. Air Force and space digest, v. 52, July 1969: 28-34. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 52

Reports on the development of the Air Force's new air-superiority fighter, the F-15, and describes its prospective basic performance characteristics.

1566
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. ANNUAL REPORT TO CONGRESS. 1968. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. xiv, 348 p. illus.
HD9698.U5A33, 1968

Partial contents. --Source, special, and nuclear byproduct materials. --Nuclear materials safeguards. --The nuclear defense effort. --Naval propulsion reactors. --Reactor development and technology. --Licensing and regulating the atom. --Peaceful nuclear explosives. --International affairs and cooperation.

Summarizes activities of the Commission during 1968. The report notes the Commission's efforts to facilitate compliance with the nonproliferation treaty, the conduct of 29 nuclear weapons tests, the successful operation of nuclear-powered surface ships, and experiments with peaceful nuclear explosives in the Plowshare program.

1567
U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. NUCLEAR SUBMARINES OF ADVANCED DESIGN. Hearing, Ninetieth Congress, second session . . . June 21, 1968. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968. 131 p.
V858.A5 1965a

Contains the unclassified portions of the hearings, a chronological summary of developments in the high-speed and turbine electric submarines, and other relevant documents concerning advanced-design submarines. The hearings were prompted by the decision of the Department of Defense (DoD) to cancel funds for the electric-drive submarine and delay indefinitely the development of a high-speed submarine. Dr. Robert A. Frosch, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, Deputy Commander for Nuclear Propulsion, testified that delays in the development of new submarines were intolerable in view of the rapid progress being made by the Soviet Union in this field, while Dr. John S. Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, presented the case of the DoD.

1568
Wang, Chi. NUCLEAR SCIENCE IN MAINLAND CHINA; A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Washington, Library of Congress; [for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off.] 1968. 70 p.
Z7144.N8W3

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Publications in Chinese.--pt. 2. Publications in other languages. --Author index.--Subject index.--List of Chinese journals cited.

Lists items in the Chinese language, published mainly between 1958 and 1966, and in other languages, especially English, issued between 1964 and 1967, on nuclear science in mainland China that are in the collections of the Library of Congress.

1569
Zaleski, Eugene. SOVIET R & D: FINANCE--AND ALLOCATION. Science and technology, May 1969: 8-15. Q1.I587, 1969

The rigidity of central planning for Soviet research and development has appreciably slowed the Russians' natural inventiveness and creativity. In this abridgement of the first section of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development report Science Policy in the USSR Zaleski reports on the problems of allocating scientific projects among the complex basic and applied research centers inside the Soviet Union and discusses the incredibly muddled methods of financing specific projects of varying importance to national and industrial needs. (Abstract supplied, modified)

C. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES AND MILITARY STRATEGIES

1570
Achminow, Herman F. [OUR CONTINENT'S FUTURE (PTS. 3 AND 4)] Die Zukunft unseres Kontinents (III, IV). Politische Studien, v. 20, Jan./Feb. 1969: 29-35; Mar./Apr.: 171-179.
H35.P66, v. 20

Pts. 1 and 2 were abstracted as items 1 and 1084 in v. 5, no. 1 and 3, respectively, of this bibliography.

Points out that only viable deterrence can prevent the Soviet Union from attacking Western Europe. Since West European deterrence depends primarily on the will to resist aggression, Soviet efforts aim at weakening that will. The tragedy of Western Europe is that all available models of its security are fraught with crises. None of them, including a reliance on the American military presence on the Continent, can serve therefore as the exclusive basis for West European security. However, Europe's political integration is a prerequisite for security, the prevention of the third world war, and the final defeat of communism.

1571
Ailleret, Charles. [FRANCE'S ATOMIC ADVENTURE] L'aventure atomique française. Paris, B. Grasset [1968] 404 p. UA700.A612

Partial contents.--pt. 1. The postwar years (1945-1951): Paris-Moscow-Paris. As an Army staff officer. --pt. 2. Commanding the special forces (1952-1956): 1952-1953; two years to overcome indifference. Toward decisionmaking. 1954-1955-1956; progress of strategic and tactical doctrines. January 1957-June 1957; preparation of the tests; choice of the test site and first reconnaissance.--pt. 3. Commanding the combined armies of the special forces (1957-1960): February 1958; Mission "Aurore" in the United States. French military policy becomes clear; the test site of Reggane takes shape. Execution of Operation "Gerboise bleue."

Memoirs of the late Chief of Staff of the French Armed Forces, in which he traces the evolution of French military thought and policy from the postwar era to 1960, when France became a full-fledged nuclear power. Among the reasons for the lag in France's atomic development were the absence of its best scientists from France's postwar atomic energy programs and the lack of political support in the 1950's for a force de frappe, which, according to Ailleret, created an atmosphere of indecision and doubt with respect to France's nuclear defense program.

1572
American Security Council. National Strategy Committee. THE ABM AND THE CHANGED STRATEGIC MILITARY BALANCE, U.S.S.R. VS. U.S.A. Washington, American Security Council, 1969. 60 p. illus.
UA23.A6617 1969

The rulers of the Soviet Union are determined to destroy capitalism and extend the Communist system worldwide. To pursue this program to a successful conclusion, the Soviets must have absolute military superiority over their capitalist enemies, which means that they must acquire a first-strike capability vis-a-vis the United States. This analysis of Soviet intentions is not idle speculation. The Soviet Union, at this very moment, is deploying the strategic weapons that will give it the first-strike capability it believes it needs. This buildup of Soviet strength poses a grave threat to the free world, and it is with this in mind that one must judge the proposal to deploy the Safeguard system. Various arguments have been raised against the system, but none of them hold up when tested against the technical, military, and political facts. This weapon is absolutely essential to American security because without it America's second-strike capability is dangerously vulnerable and the Nation defenseless against Communist Chinese and accidental attacks. It is essential because the President must enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union on terms of equality. One should also note that a nuclear strategy that aims to protect human life is more in keeping with the moral principles of the American people than one that bases deterrence "wholly upon our ability to kill people in other countries or 'accept' heavy casualties at home."

1573
Andrén, Nils. IN SEARCH OF SECURITY. Cooperation and conflict, no. 4, 1968: 217-239.
P&GP RR

Proposes a new theoretical framework for the study of national security policies. Andrén begins with a general analysis of the significance of security for various types of actors in the international system, continues with a survey of Scandinavian literature on security policy, and concludes with a critique of currently held security concepts and the presentation of an alternative conceptual scheme, which, it is hoped, will lead to "a more integrated, less exclusively defence-foreign policy-oriented conception of security."

1574
Bennett, Charles E. AMERICAN SEAPOWER, 1969; A 1949 NAVY. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, July 1, 1969: 550-553. PN6121.V52, v. 35
"Delivered to the Hampton Roads Maritime Association, Norfolk, Virginia, May 13, 1969."

Compares developments in the Soviet and U.S. Navies, argues that the United States needs a more modern navy to meet the increasing Soviet challenge, and concludes that the deplorable state of the U.S. Navy can be corrected by adequate funding.

1575
Bethe, Hans A. THE ABM, CHINA AND THE ARMS RACE. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 25, May 1969: 41-44. TK9145.A84, v. 25

Rebuts arguments that have been advanced to justify deployment of the Sentinel and Safeguard ABM systems. Bethe examines the arguments for Chinese- and Soviet-oriented systems and for area, city, and hard-point defense strategies. The Sentinel proposal was faulty in both timing and concept. Safeguard, which avoids many of the drawbacks of Sentinel by a shift of emphasis from the area defense of population to the point defense of the U.S. deterrent force and may, in the long run, be the only answer to the multiple independent reentry vehicle, is premature at this time. For the moment, U.S. efforts should be concentrated on securing a strategic arms limitation agreement.

1576
Briessen, Fritz van. [CHINA BETWEEN NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS AND GUERRILLA STRATEGY] China zwischen Nuklear-Rüstung und Guerilla-Strategie. Aussenpolitik, v. 20, Feb. 1969: 78-85. D839.A885, v. 20

Sees in Mao Tse-tung's policy of building a modern nuclear deterrent on one hand and guerrilla strategy on the other a contradiction that causes considerable tensions within Red China. It will be up to Mao's successors to decide which of the two shall prevail or whether other models might be adopted for the nation's defense policy.

1577
Brown, William M. ON REORGANIZING AFTER NUCLEAR ATTACK. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 27 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3764) AS36.R28, no. 3764
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 69. AS36.R284, v. 6

Analyzes current thinking on the possibility of a U.S. recovery from a nuclear attack that destroys or severely damages all major cities and hundreds of others. The economic viability of the country is not assured even though a major fraction of the physical resources survive. Preplanning for a civil defense mobilization will enable it to proceed rapidly and effectively when needed. A large emergency organization could be indispensable to ensure an effective post-attack economic reorganization. Effective civil defense mobilization would tend to produce a "paragovernmental" agency of several million trained people to manage reorganization problems. A major problem will be the collapse of federal currency, resulting in misallocation of food supplies and fragmentation of resources. Preventive actions could include an option to nationalize the food industry during the reorganization period. Stockpiles of petroleum, metals, chemicals, and medical supplies could be built up for use as additional currency to ensure that the government would survive and function. Research and analysis of the requirements for planning a mobilization effort may require modest federal funding for a decade. (Abstract supplied)

1578
Bulygin, Sergei. THAILAND, A U.S. STRATEGIC BASE. Soviet military review, July 1969: 54-55. U1.S7, 1969

The United States has transformed Thailand into a strategic base to support its military adventures throughout Southeast Asia. Some 600 military aircraft of various types are located at widely scattered air bases. The Pentagon speaks of reducing troop commitments in Thailand but at the same time expands and builds new air and naval bases and improves roads and railways so that they will be capable of withstanding heavy military equipment--all of which indicates that the United States intends to continue using Thailand as a military base. Already American air attacks on the liberated areas of Laos and provocations against Cambodia threaten to extend the war in Vietnam to other Southeast Asian nations, and the United States has used its economic aid to Thailand to blackmail the Thais into sending troops to Vietnam.

1579
Burney, John C. NUCLEAR SHARING IN NATO. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 49, June 1969: 62-68. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 49

The Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) and the Nuclear Defense Affairs Committee were created by NATO in 1966 to meet the demand of smaller alliance members for greater opportunities to participate in nuclear planning. The NPG--practically, though not formally, the more important of the two bodies--serves as a forum for frank and wide-ranging discussions of alliance nuclear strategy. Consensus is general on matters pertaining to the use of strategic nuclear weapons, and some progress has been made toward devising more suitable arrangements for national participation in nuclear decisionmaking. The most frequently disputed issues relate to tactical nuclear weapons. An effort is underway to draw up political guidelines to govern their use in the European theater, but the dispute is far from resolved. The NPG has made a meaningful contribution to NATO unity and in that sense has been a success. Nevertheless, important differences of opinion on nuclear strategy still divide the United States and its European allies. It would be unrealistic to overlook the possibility that multinational nuclear planning may become progressively more difficult.

1580
Cooksey, Robert. FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW; JULY-DECEMBER, 1968. Australian quarterly, v. 41, Mar. 1969: 78-91. DU80.A95, v. 41

Prime Minister Gorton has not yet defined his foreign and defense policies although he has headed Australia's Government for more than a year now. There have been repeated postponements of the defense review, and the Government refuses to comment on such projects as Pine Gap and the U.S. Navy Omega navigational radio station even though both

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projects may involve closer ties to U.S. defense policy. The Government has postponed a decision on the development of nuclear weapons, and its policy toward the Indo-Pacific area remains unclear--except that less emphasis is now placed on regionalism. Finally, the Government's Vietnam policy, which has been to support the vast American presence on the Asian mainland as a counter to China, appears doomed to failure as the United States prepares to withdraw.

1581
DePauw, John W. SOLDIERS OF THE WARSAW PACT. Army digest, v. 24, May 1969: 20-27. illus.
Ul.A827, v. 24

Considers the organization, strength, weaponry, and combat preparedness of the Bulgarian, East German, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Rumanian, and Polish Armed Forces. DePauw also discusses induction procedures, reserve status, professional qualifications, and morale in these forces. The non-Soviet armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are under strong Soviet military control; their training resembles that of the Russians, their equipment is largely Soviet, and battle missions of their soldiers are probably similar to those of their Soviet counterparts.

1582
Drück, Walter. [MILITARY POLITICAL SITUATION OF SOUTH AMERICA] Die militärpolitische Lage Südamerikas. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Jan. 1969: 19-23. map.
U3.W396, v. 18

Discusses the state, strength, and composition of the armed forces of several South American countries and provides information on some of their patterns of arms procurement. Drück considers the Chilean and Argentinian Armies the best trained in South America and the Brazilian Army the strongest numerically. Brazil has the best navy and, along with Argentina, the best air force in the area. On the whole, South American forces are ill suited for modern conventional warfare because of shortcomings in their organization, structure, and armaments. South American tension areas are also considered.

1583
Duboule, Gilbert. FINANCING OF CIVIL DEFENCE CONSTRUCTIONS. International civil defence, v. 16, Mar. 1969: 1-2. UA926.I488, v. 16
From an address by Gilbert Duboule, President of the Geneva Cantonal Government.

The cost of constructing fallout shelters in Switzerland is becoming exorbitant owing to the technical requirements and the increase in home construction. To overcome increased costs the Government must reduce "the military budget by 100 or 150 million francs and [give] this sum to the Cantons and cities . . . for the construction of public and private shelters." The present unpopularity of civil defense in Switzerland can be changed by emphasizing the importance of civil defense in natural disasters. To achieve this the current civil defense program does not have to be overhauled; it must merely be adapted to new training programs and the use of disaster equipment, which can be employed in case of attack.

1584
Engle, Eloise. CANADA'S DEFENSE ROLE: AN INTERVIEW WITH R/ADM S. E. PADDON. Data, v. 14, Jan. 1969: 29-32. illus.
P&GP RR

Records brief comments on Canada's defense industry, military capabilities, and role in U.N. peacekeeping operations and NATO. Admiral Paddon argues that Canada should be spending somewhat more for national defense and states that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia has strengthened the Canadian commitment to Europe.

1585
Enthoven, Alain C. ARMS AND MEN: THE MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE. Interplay, v. 2, May 1969: 11-14. illus. P&GP RR

The strength and power of the Warsaw Pact have been overestimated. In fact, there is a close enough balance between NATO and the pact that moderate increases or decreases in NATO's forces could make a significant difference in its overall politicomilitary options. Although the pact has more divisions, NATO actually has a greater number of soldiers available for combat. The pact has more tanks than NATO, but this alone does not constitute a clear advantage because the NATO tanks--the Leopard and the Chieftain--are more accurate at long range and NATO has more infantry antitank weapons, which is important from a defensive point of view. NATO also has 30 percent more armored personnel carriers than the pact and greater firepower, owing to more effective ammunition and accurate weapons. Further, NATO's ability to supply ammunition and fuel to keep tanks operating should be greater because it has more men engaged in logistic support programs in and behind the divisions. Although NATO has about 28 percent fewer aircraft than the pact, its air forces have much greater tactical airpower--about five times the killing potential and loiter time. At present the state of NATO's forces is unsatisfactory because the West is "not providing the 'horseshoe nails' needed to reach the full potential effectiveness of [its] existing forces." The alliance should devote more time to solving problems of military readiness against the real threat rather than against the exaggerated one.

1586
Farrell, K. G. FALLOUT PROTECTION PLANNING. In Canada. Emergency Measures Organization. EMO national digest, v. 9, Feb./Mar. 1969: 12-19, 25. illus. UA926.C295, v. 9

Discusses Canada's fallout-shelter program, which is designed to save lives and reduce casualties in the event of a nuclear exchange between the superpowers, and examines potential fallout shelter spaces available throughout Canada. Farrell gives the basic objectives of Canada's civil defense program, which can be realized in a relatively short time owing to the completion of a nationwide survey. He concludes that "the total survival capability in an emergency will depend on . . . the effectiveness of public information, dispersal and reception plans, [and] blast protection."

1587
Forschungskreis Wehr und Wirtschaft. [FUNDAMENTALS OF GERMAN DEFENSE POLICY] Grundfragen der deutschen Wehrpolitik. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 13, Jan. 15, 1969: 32-42; Feb. 20, 1969: 85-95. illus. U3.W38, v. 13
A study by the Wehr und Wirtschaft research panel.

Inquires into the political and military aspects of West German security and points out the failure of the détente policy, the offensive character of Soviet

foreign and military policies, the geopolitical significance of the central and East European countries in Soviet military strategy, and Soviet politicomilitary goals in the Mediterranean. The study considers the role of NATO, compares Western and Eastern defense policies, and discusses the tasks, reorganization, and armaments of the West German Armed Forces. West European, especially West German, defense plans should anticipate a decreasing American military presence in Europe in the seventies. Since an integrated West European defense system is a remote possibility, the plans should stress the consolidation of NATO.

1588
Freistetter, Franz. [THE SUPERVISION OF THE NEAR EAST ARMISTICE BY THE UNITED NATIONS] Die Waffenstillstandsüberwachung der Vereinten Nationen im Nahen Osten. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 7, May/June 1969: 225-230. illus.
P&GP RR

History of Arab-Israeli conflicts and U. N. efforts to resolve or control them from 1947 until today. Despite the U. N.'s obvious failure to secure peace in the area, U. N. supervision of the Arab-Israeli truce has prevented an Arab-Israeli conflict from erupting into an all-out war several times. Thus the U. N.'s small-step policy of lessening local tensions cannot be entirely dismissed.

1589
Friese, Jürgen. [NAVAL FORCES IN THE SOVIET-OCCUPIED PART OF GERMANY 1950-1968] Die Seestreitkräfte im sowjetisch besetzten Teil Deutschlands 1950-1968. Marine Rundschau, v. 66, Feb. 1969: 16-31. V3.M3, v. 66

Discusses the development of the East German naval forces in the past two decades and appraises their present state. Friese considers the East German Navy to be well trained and equipped with the most modern weapons--an indication of Moscow's trust in it.

1590
Galbraith, John Kenneth. HOW TO CONTROL THE MILITARY. Harper's magazine, v. 238, June 1969: 31-46. AP2.H3, v. 238

The military power is a complex of organizations that extends beyond the military-industrial complex to include intelligence agencies, Foreign Service officers, university and defense-oriented-organization scientists, and the Armed Services Committees. The truths that serve the military power do not necessarily reflect reality, and while they "have not yet produced anything so dramatic as the Vietnam, Bay of Pigs, or Dominican misadventures . . . their potential for disaster is far greater." The perception of weapons needs "is a revelation that almost always results from prompting by either the military or the defense industries." As a result, the military power, by removing such decisions from the people, has reversed the constitutional process. This reversal resulted from various sources: the increasing bureaucratization of life; "the circumstances and images of foreign policy in the late Forties, Fifties, and early Sixties"; the restriction of knowledge about U. S. and Soviet weapons development to those within the public and private bureaucracy; the disciplining effect of personal fear; the absence of civilian claims on Federal funds; and the muting of opposition to the military-industrial complex. The sources of strength for the military power in the fifties and early sixties are the sources of its vulnerability now. However, the military-industrial bureaucracy is not necessarily on its last legs. Its supporters are many; it is an American habit. But control over the military is still possible if the effort is waged.

1591
Gasteyger, Curt. [MOSCOW'S PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA] Moskaus Präsenz im Mittelmeer. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 7, May/June 1969: 189-194. map.
P&GP RR

Discusses the forms of the Soviet military presence in the Mediterranean and its role in providing Moscow with new strategic options in regard to NATO, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Communist China. Gasteyger points out the growing role of the Soviet Navy in Soviet political and military strategies, especially since the 1962 Cuban crisis, and contends that each aggravation of the Arab-Israeli conflict enhances Moscow's opportunities to increase the Soviet military presence in the area. The simultaneous presence of the American and Soviet Navies in the Mediterranean weakens the superpowers' political influence on the area and makes them impotent to control local conflicts there. This may cause them to seek an agreement in regard to the Near East.

1592
Gastil, Raymond D., and Robert A. Krupka. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CIVIL DEFENSE. In Canada. Emergency Measures Organization. EMO national digest, v. 9, Feb./Mar. 1969: 22-25. illus.
UA926.C295, v. 9

Paper presented before the Federal Government Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence, Jan. 30, 1968.

Illustrates the comparative effectiveness of high- and low-budget civil defense systems in the United States. An effective civil defense program in terms of population protection would cost approximately $40 billion, "but civil defense alone cannot be relied upon to achieve drastic reductions" in lives lost. The authors believe that a low-budget system in which fallout shelters are converted into low-psi blast shelters is cost effective and that a complete fallout-shelter system could protect up to 176 million people depending on the size of attack and the effectiveness of evacuation plans. They conclude that, since people have wanted to rebuild after disasters throughout history, they would want to rebuild after a nuclear attack.

1593
Gibay-Devet, R. [THE SOVIET ARMY FACING WAR] L'Armée soviétique face à la guerre. Écrits de Paris, no. 280, Apr. 1969: 31-45.
AP20.E355, 1969

Warns against the buildup in the Soviet Armed Forces by stressing the large increases in Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces since 1964. Gibay-Devet believes Russia--czarist and Communist--has never hesitated to attain its objectives through force when the means were at hand and concludes that the present Soviet regime is taking Lenin's advice: "History teaches that governments that do not attach a primordial importance to military questions lead their countries to ruin."

1594
Gierschke, H. [THE DEPENDENCE OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC ON FOOD IMPORTS] Die Abhängigkeit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von Nahrungsimporten. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Apr. 1969: 203-208. illus. U3.W396, v. 18

Examines the influence of the German Federal Republic's dependence on foreign food supplies on the nation's defense potential. Gierschke considers the possibility of West Germany's reliance on its own food stock and production and on imports from other West European countries in case of prolonged international crises. However, since most of the nation's imported food comes from overseas either directly or as imports from other West European countries, the Federal Republic's security requires that sea transportation of food from North America to Western Europe be ensured in time of crisis.

1595
Goldschmidt, Klaus. [FUNDAMENTALS OF STRATEGY; MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN A CHANGE OF ERAS] Grundlagen der Strategie; militärische und politische Führung im Wandel der Zeiten. Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau; Zeitschrift für die europäische Sicherheit, v. 19, Feb. 1969: 75-93. U3.W485, v. 19

Inquires into national and collective strategies, both military and general. Goldschmidt emphasizes the decisive supremacy of politics over military strategy in today's theory and practice and outlines American, Soviet, British, French, and West German strategies. He explains the aloofness of French and British strategies toward NATO's flexible response strategy by pointing to Britain's and France's limitations in their actual or potential contributions to the alliance's conventional defenses. Since the German Federal Republic is unable to protect itself and bring about German reunification by its own power alone, it must continue to rely on NATO and on the alliance with the United States.

1596
Goltsev, V. THE NERVOUSNESS OF THE MISINFORMERS. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, Apr. 23, 1969: 13. D839.C87, v. 21
Translated and condensed from Izvestiia, Apr. 5, 1969. Slav Rm

Interview with Admiral Gorshkov, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy, in which he attempts to clarify the "mysterious" movements of the Soviet Navy in the North Atlantic. Gorshkov contends that Western interest in Soviet naval movements in this area "reflects the unfounded claims of the Western powers to the command of the seas and oceans that they had in the past." He concludes that the Soviet Navy's presence in the Atlantic is a defensive measure to counter any aggressive action by the NATO fleet.

1597
Grechko, Andrei A. ALWAYS ON GUARD. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, Mar. 12, 1969: 25. D839.C87, v. 21
Translated from Pravda, Feb. 23, 1969. Slav Rm

Western bourgeois ideologists maintain that the Soviet Army is weak, "isolated from the people," and a "blind tool of politics"; they also see the appearance of some "crisis phenomena" within it. These and similar distortions are used to create a false opinion of the Soviet Armed Forces. In reality, the Soviet Armed Forces are by now capable of defending the country against any aggressor. While Soviet foreign policy has always been peaceful, the armed forces had to be strengthened because of constant Western attempts to disrupt Socialist unity from within, split the Socialist commonwealth, and promote quiet counterrevolutions designed to restore capitalism in the Socialist countries. Such was the case in Czechoslovakia where the Soviet Armed Forces displayed perfect combat readiness and showed deep understanding of their international duty to protect the gains of socialism against foreign-inspired counterrevolutionists. The frustration of the imperialist expectations produced a new wave of furor among the enemies of socialism, which expressed itself in the NATO maneuvers on the western Czechoslovak borders in February 1969. The maneuvers and the expansion of NATO force the Soviet Union to increase its vigilance and reinforce its forces on land and sea and in the air and train them in the use of nuclear weapons and combat readiness.

1598
Grewe, Wilhelm G. [AN ALLIANCE'S THIRD DECADE] Eine Allianz im dritten Jahrzehnt. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Apr. 1969: 165-171. U3.W396, v. 18

Analyzes the arguments, especially those of the French, against NATO military integration--that the nuclear age deprives military alliances of their traditional effectiveness, that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization serve the hegemonial interests of the superpowers, and that the "bloc policy" impedes the relaxation of East-West tensions in Europe. Grewe points out that the unreliability of the promise of military aid is not particularly typical of the nuclear age; it has always been the weakest point of military alliances. The most tangible guarantee of military aid for European NATO members, according to the author, is the American military presence in Europe. There is little to suggest that NATO's "bloc policy" really exists.

1599
Haskel, Barbara G. A MIRROR FOR PRINCES? ELITE IMAGES. Cooperation and conflict, no. 4, 1968: 240-246. P&GP RR

In Elite Images and Foreign Policy Outcomes, A Study of Norway, Philip Burgess makes use of a new analytical concept, the "strategic image," which he defines as "the organized representation of the important features of the foreign policy environment as articulated by the authoritative decision-makers" and which, he maintains, can be used to demonstrate the necessity for a given foreign policy choice; e. g., the 1949 Norwegian decision to join NATO instead of an independent Scandinavian security group. Specifically, Burgess argues that, knowing the strategic image held by a nation's foreign policy decisionmakers, a policy analyst can eliminate all theoretically possible policy alternatives except the one that actually was chosen--in effect, recapitulating on the level of theory what those who act in terms of the image subconsciously did on the level of practice. In his detailed study of the Norwegian case and in his supplementary remarks on Swedish policy, Burgess fails to make good his claim. The very complexity of Burgess' notion of a strategic image makes one doubt its predictive value, but the difficulty can be made more explicit: Having failed to provide "criteria for judging the 'fit' between policy

choices or 'outcomes' and the 'reconstructed image' which [he] tries to establish," he is clearly unable to show that every alternative except the one chosen by the Norwegian Government was logically incompatible with the reconstructed Norwegian security image. In short, contrary to expectations, the strategic image cannot serve as a "negative predictor," and indeed, when applied to some situations, it can be positively misleading.

1600
Herrick, Robert W. SOVIET NAVAL STRATEGY; FIFTY YEARS OF THEORY AND PRACTICE. Annapolis, U.S. Naval Institute [1968] xxxiv, 197 p. illus. VA570.H4
Bibliography: p. 163-185.

Partial contents. --The navy at its nadir. --The old school strategy. --The young school strategy. --Stalinist strategy. --The navy in World War II. --The Stalinist postwar period. --Khrushchev and the nuclear navy. --NATO versus Soviet missions. --Major tasks and capabilities. --The navy, present and future. --Glossary.

Historical analysis of Soviet naval strategy with special emphasis upon the offensive-defensive cycles through which that strategy has evolved. Herrick maintains that the Soviet Navy is primarily defensive and is qualitatively inferior vis-a-vis the NATO naval forces.

1601
Hinterhoff, Eugène. A COOL LOOK AT N.A.T.O.'S TWENTY-YEARS' BALANCE SHEET. Contemporary review, v. 214, Apr. 1969: 179-184.
AP4.C7, v. 214

NATO has consistently underestimated its own military strength relative to that of the Warsaw Pact. Until 1966, NATO possessed superior power in central and southern Europe and the Mediterranean area. Only in the north was it in an inferior position, owing to the refusal of Norway and Denmark to permit the stationing of foreign troops on their soil. The relative strengths of the two alliances have changed, of course, with the series of reductions in national contingents assigned to NATO, the French withdrawal from the NATO command structure, the Soviet naval and political penetration of the Mediterranean Sea and the Arab countries, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which led to the stationing of additional Soviet troops in central Europe. With its new preponderance of power, the Soviet high command, should it contemplate a conventional attack on Europe, would have two options available: a modified Schlieffen plan with the main effort on the right flank or a double envelopment based on the Clausewitzian "Cannae" strategy. They will attempt neither, however, unless the U.S. nuclear deterrent loses its credibility and NATO falls into such disarray as to raise the possibility of a lightning Soviet victory. The first condition is unlikely to materialize as long as President Nixon is in office, and, in the interim, NATO has an opportunity to put its house back in order.

1602
Hinterhoff, Eugène. MENDING NATO'S DEFENCES. Contemporary review, v. 214, May 1969: 233-238.
AP4.C7, v. 214

A number of important steps must be taken to improve NATO's defenses. Most obviously, the trend toward reducing national contingents assigned to NATO must be reversed and the alliance brought up to its full strength of 26 divisions. In some circumstances, greater strategic mobility can serve as a substitute for numbers, but most often it is less effective than an increase in the size of strategic reserves. Tactical air strength and antitank armaments should be augmented, and consideration should be given to constructing strongpoints across probable avenues of Soviet advance. In the area of strategic planning, two things ought to be done: First, NATO policy on the use of tactical nuclear weapons should be clarified. More thought should be given to the desirability of an early, or "deterrent," use of these weapons, but, at the same time, commanders should learn to be less dependent on them in their contingency planning. Second, an imaginative redeployment of NATO ground forces in central and southern Europe could make a Soviet attack more difficult. The main effort of a Soviet invasion will be through Schleswig-Holstein. It could be opposed directly along the frontier with East Germany or indirectly by a large force in Denmark, which would be on the flank of the Soviet advance. A similar policy of reinforcing on the flank could be followed in the south. The imaginative use of NATO ground forces might enable the West not only to repel the Soviet attack but also to launch a counteroffensive. This would have incalculable effects in Eastern Europe, which is restive under the Soviet yoke.

1603
Hinterhoff, Eugène. [THE SOVIETS AND THEIR CZECH URANIUM] Die Sowjets und ihr tschechisches Uran. Schweizer Monatshefte, v. 48, Feb. 1969: 1098-1105.
AP32.S47, v. 48

Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia has secured for the Soviet Union continued uninterrupted access to Czech uranium and ilmenite resources. East German and Czech deposits of these minerals are the richest and most valuable in the entire Soviet bloc, which accounts for the low costs of their output. The Soviet Union has been paying an arbitrary price, fixed far below the world market, for Czech ores, and the progressing liberalization of Czechoslovakia threatened to deprive Moscow of this very important advantage. But Moscow has gained more than this from its military intervention. The West's meek reaction to the invasion helped the Soviet Union to claim its "right" to intervene in domestic affairs of not only the Warsaw Pact states but also Yugoslavia and West-Germany. West Germany's eastern boundary lacks proper fortifications, and the present state of preparedness of NATO conventional forces would make a "NATO shield" of no avail to the attacked nation. Theoretically, Soviet military operations against West Germany could follow a classical "pincer strategy," for which the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia would give a convenient position of departure. Two major armored assaults would invest the main force of the NATO shield. The operation would be assisted by numerous smaller attacks all over the front to cause dispersion of NATO reserves and to create general panic among the civilian population, which would overcrowd roads with fleeing people and thus hinder NATO's use of tactical nuclear weapons. Since the NATO strategy of flexible response would fail in such a situation, the Soviets would become exposed to the increased danger of a strategic nuclear strike by the West. Therefore, for the time being they most probably will refrain from staging a direct attack on Western Europe, but they may well attack West Berlin; the possible use of an American strategic nuclear deterrent in defense of that city is not quite

clear. The Soviet Union will be able to afford provoking the conflict situations discussed above only after it has achieved decisive superiority over the West in nuclear armaments, for which Soviet control of Czech resources is of the utmost importance.

1604
Home, Alexander Frederick Douglas-Home, 14th earl of, and others. RED FLEET OFF SUEZ--MEDITERRANEAN CHALLENGE. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 7, spring 1969: 78-89.
D839.A85, v. 7

Analyzes the nature of the Soviet threat in the Mediterranean area and proposes Western countermeasures. The authors stress that the primary threat in this region is political and economic rather than military. They recommend the creation of a wholly European Mediterranean fleet, which would have diplomatic as well as naval missions to perform and would operate "outside the nuclear deterrent, which would be confined in the Mediterranean to the US and Soviet navies."

1605
Hsieh, Alice Langley. COMMUNIST CHINA'S MILITARY POLICIES, DOCTRINE, AND STRATEGY. [Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp.] 1968. 54 p. ([Rand Corporation. Paper] P-3960)
AS36.R28, no. 3960
"A lecture presented at the National Defense College, Tokyo, September 17, 1968."
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 86.
AS36.R284, v. 6

Maoist military doctrine stresses political action in which war is only one of a number of instruments of policy to enable a weak force to succeed against a militarily stronger enemy. China's recognition of nuclear vulnerability, technological inferiority to the U.S., and uncertainty about Soviet military support have been reflected in Peking's avoidance of any military objectives that might lead to a confrontation with U.S. forces. Current strategic thinking, as it has crystallized from a long strategy debate generated by increasing U.S. pressure on North Vietnam, emphasizes maintenance of a large conventional ground force and nuclear defense. It appears that priority has been given to developing missile (particularly MRBM) capability rather than offensive aircraft delivery. China's future strategic policy is likely to make low-risk and subtle use of nuclear capability along political-military and propaganda lines to deter U.S. intervention in local crises and to exploit political and economic instability in Asia. (Abstract supplied)

1606
Hulton, Sir Edward. THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND NATO: WHAT IS THEIR FUTURE? European review, v. 19, spring 1969: 3-4, 6. illus.
AP4.E78, v. 19

Comments on the future significance of the Council of Europe and NATO. Hulton praises the Council's positive achievements and its pioneering efforts for European unity, but he notes that its work may be taken over by the European Communities; he maintains that eventually Europe will have to defend itself despite the appalling cost.

1607
[THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S ARMY AND HUNGARY'S POLITICOMILITARY SITUATION] [by] Hungaricus [pseud.] Die ungarische Volksarmee und die militärpolitische Lage Ungarns. Schweizer Monatshefte, v. 49, May 1969: 128-132.
AP32.S47, v. 49

Outlines the development, structure, and equipment of the Hungarian Armed Forces and considers their role in the Warsaw Pact defense system, particularly in the strategic area of the Balkans.

1608
Iakubovskii, Ivan I. STANDING GUARD OVER PEACE AND SOCIALISM. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 15, May 14, 1969: pt. 1, [item] 1, 1-6. Slav Rm
Translated from Pravda, May 14, 1969.
Slav Rm

Reviews the history of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), which, according to Iakubovskii, is an alliance with as noble aims and tasks as history has ever known. Iakubovskii describes the WTO's structure, the cooperation between its members, the equipment, combat readiness, and vast potentialities in the mobile use of its armed forces. He criticizes the recent changes in NATO and the new tactics of "building bridges" and "quiet counter-revolution." He concludes by calling for vigilance; the establishment of a European security system; a collective effort in developing the Socialist countries' political, economic, and defensive cooperation; and mightier military strength, which would allow the joint troops to become "a formidable force in the defence of the free life of the peoples and their bright future--communism."

1609
Kiep, Walther L. [PRINCIPLES OF THE GERMAN SECURITY POLICY] Grundlagen der deutschen Sicherheitspolitik. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Feb. 1969: 54-58.
U3.W396, v. 18

Considers the Soviet threat to West Germany to be much greater now than 20 years ago. Although direct Soviet military action against the West is unlikely as long as NATO remains coherent and strong, Moscow has improved its capability for direct intervention by increasing its presence in the Mediterranean. It can also stage wars by proxy. The consolidation of NATO, marked by increased political, scientific, and technical cooperation between the Allies, would enhance the latter's security.

1610
Kiraly, Bela K. WHY THE SOVIETS NEED THE WARSAW PACT. East Europe, v. 18, Apr. 1969: 8-17. illus.
DR1.N363, v. 18

Examines the functions of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) within the framework of Soviet military doctrine and assesses the value of the organization's forces to the Soviet Union. Kiraly concludes that, although "the WTO is subject to competing centrifugal and centripetal forces," the centripetal forces are still dominant.

1611
Kissel, Hans. [THE DOCTRINE AND STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE] Doktrin und Strategie der "flexible response." Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 7, May/June 1969: 194-205. illus.
P&GP RR

Describes the development of the American and NATO strategy of flexible response, including revisions

made or suggested in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia of August 21, 1968. Kissel also discusses the postwar American strategy of massive retaliation, sums up the development of British and French strategic thought after World War II, outlines France's current official strategy, and considers West German postulates in regard to American and British NATO military policies.

1612
Klenberg, Jan. THE CAP AND THE STRAITS PROBLEMS OF NORDIC SECURITY. [Cambridge, Mass.] Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1968. 22 p. map. (Occasional papers in international affairs, no. 18) VA450.K54
Bibliographical references included in "Notes" (p. 18-19).

Contents. --Foreword. --Outline map of northern Europe. --The scene. --The Soviet defensive. --Bases for submarines. --The passage of submarines. --Future alternatives.

Discusses the strategic significance of Europe's North Cape and the Danish straits and how these areas affect the Soviet Union's military planning. Klenberg notes that because of the strategic location of the cape and straits the Russians "must put great stress on the free passage of their Arctic Fleet into the Atlantic, especially its nuclear-capable components." He concludes that the neutralization of the cape and straits or the withdrawal of Norway from NATO to quiet Soviet fears of Nordic aggression are impractical alternatives.

1613
Kolkowicz, Roman. [THE SPECIFIC CHANGE OF THE FUNCTION OF THE WARSAW PACT] Spezifischer Funktionswandel des Warschauer Paktes. Aussenpolitik, v. 20, Jan. 1969: 5-23.
D839.A885, v. 20

Points out the dual function of the Warsaw Treaty Organization: as a Soviet policy means to direct the evolutionary sociopolitical change of the bloc and as an instrument to maintain Soviet domination over satellite countries and the bloc's unity. The Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia indicates the current preponderance of the latter function, but, should a "directed change"--the evolutionary modernization of institutions and methods--win an upper hand, the chances for stabilization of European peace and security will increase.

1614
Korbonski, Andrzej. THE WARSAW PACT. International conciliation, no. 573, May 1969: 5-73.
JX1907.A8, 1969

Contents. --Introduction. --Origins of the pact. --Institutional framework: Provisions of the treaty. Political Consultative Committee. --The first decade: Stationing of troops. Role in negotiations. A Socialist commonwealth. Mutual security. --The mid-1960s: New Soviet leadership. Intrabloc relations. East-West relations. --Reconstruction and resistance. --Czechoslovakia and after. --Conclusion.

Analyzes the origin, history, institutional changes, and objectives of the Warsaw Pact and the attitudes of its members. Korbonski feels that the overriding reason for the creation of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) was to balance the military power in Europe after the establishment of NATO and to provide a bargaining counter with the West. The organizations show great similarities and are deteriorating simultaneously with the vanishing threat of war in Europe. The future of the WTO will be determined mainly by developments in NATO.

1615
Kruzhin, Peter P. SOVIET NAVAL BUILD-UP IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. East West digest, Mar. 1969: 91-96. P&GP RR

A historical survey of the buildup of the Soviet naval forces in the Mediterranean since 1964, drawn mainly from information in Soviet newspapers and periodicals. The Soviet Union maintains that the presence of its naval forces in the Mediterranean is based on its sovereign right to use these waters and is necessary to protect the Arab world from the aggressiveness of the United States and its 6th Fleet. The Soviet Navy must be strengthened to achieve this task and to avoid the repetition of the situation during the Spanish civil war, when Stalin was forced to abandon the Spanish Republicans to their own fate. Whether the Soviet Union will abandon the Arabs, if it proves politically expedient, remains to be seen.

1616
Lapp, Ralph E. A BIOGRAPHY OF THE ABM. New York times magazine, May 4, 1969: 29-30, 32, 121-128. illus. AP2.N6575, 1969

Traces the development of U.S. antiballistic missile systems. Lapp discusses both the technical aspects of this development and the growing involvement of the program in partisan politics. The United States is now faced with the decision "whether to seek, through a system of international control, a way out of the nuclear dilemma or to continue toward what President Eisenhower called 'the hopeless finality of a belief that two atomic colossi are doomed . . . to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world.' " Deciding this question will be a severe test of the "ability of a democracy to grapple with techno-military matters heavily underlaid with political intrigue."

1617
Lapp, Ralph E. FEAR OF A FIRST STRIKE. New republic, v. 160, June 28, 1969: 21-24.
AP2.N624, v. 160

Disputes the contention of some Pentagon officials that the Soviet SS-9 missiles constitute a possible first-strike threat and argues that "the United States can afford to test Soviet willingness to come to an arms agreement without running undue risks to its security." Lapp finds the basic assumptions of the Pentagon calculations to be highly implausible, given the difficulties Soviet strategists whould have to overcome to launch a successful first strike. He also criticizes the Nixon administration for keeping secret the number of Spartan and Sprint missiles to be deployed under the proposed Safeguard system since this will certainly lead the Russians to regard Safeguard as provocative. He recommends that the United States work instead to improve its early warning system by means of satellites and advanced radars. These unmistakably defensive measures would achieve the basic purpose of buying time without provoking a new arms race.

1618
Latter, A. L., and E. A. Martinelli. ACTIVE AND PASSIVE DEFENSE. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand

Corp., 1968. 13 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3165-1) AS36.R28, no. 3165
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 63. AS36.R284, v. 6

A chapter in a forthcoming study of civil defense (Professor Eugene Wigner, editor), which will deal primarily with blast shelters--a passive form of defense. Because passive defense cannot be discussed meaningfully without an understanding of its relationship to active defense, i.e., intercepting and destroying the attacking bombers and ballistic missiles, this paper describes the technical aspects of active defense, particularly ballistic missile defense. The authors also discuss the question of which is more effective--active or passive defense, or some combination of the two. (Abstract supplied)

1619
LeMay, Curtis E., and Dale O. Smith. AMERICA IS IN DANGER. New York, Funk & Wagnalls [1968] xv, 346 p. map. UA23.L48

Contents.--Introduction.--Civil control of the military.--The impact of organization.--The strategic situation.--Deterrence.--Our general war strategy.--Limited war.--A European solution.--The proliferation of nuclear weapons.--Counterinsurgency and the war in Vietnam.--Military superiority.--Index.

Denounces current U.S. defense policy and military strategy. The authors present evidence that the United States is rapidly losing its strategic superiority over the Soviet Union, explain why this is being permitted to happen, and propose measures whereby America can regain and consolidate its military preponderance. "Defense intellectuals," whose advice is now preferred over that of military professionals, are to blame for the dangerous decline of American strategic power; consequently, as a first step toward regeneration, these "false prophets" should be removed from positions of influence.

1620
McNamara, Robert S. THE ESSENCE OF SECURITY; REFLECTIONS IN OFFICE. New York, Harper & Row [1968] 176 p. UA23.M25
Policy statements from the author's public addresses and reports to Congress during his tenure as Secretary of Defense.

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. This world we live in: Where we stand. Where interests collide. NATO and the forces of change.--pt. 2. The tools of power: Mutual deterrence. The choice of weapons. Managing for defense.--pt. 3. Where security lies: On gaps and bridges. New missions. The essence of security.--Epilogue.--Appendix 1. The emerging nuclear capability of Red China.--Appendix 2. Sources.--Index.

Examines the nature of U.S. security requirements and defense strategy. McNamara offers seven basic propositions that guided his thinking as Secretary of Defense: that the nation's security must be based on a policy of collective security; that the only realistic role of the U.S. nuclear capability is that of a deterrent; that emphasis on flexible response must continue to replace the former reliance on massive retaliation; that the Department of Defense (DoD) requires active, imaginative leadership; that modern managerial methods are essential for the effective operation of the DoD; that in addition to its primary role of combat readiness the DoD should help solve the Nation's social problems; and that "the security of this Republic lies not solely or even primarily in military force, but equally in developing stable patterns of economic and political growth both at home and in the developing nations throughout the world."

1621
Martin, Laurence W. TOWARDS A NUCLEAR EUROPE. Spectator, v. 222, Apr. 25, 1969: 538-539. AP4.S7, v. 222

The Western alliance is beset by converging trends that will profoundly affect its future, of which the most significant is the movement toward strategic stability between the superpowers. Since Europe's security rests upon the American nuclear guarantee, an agreed strategic balance would point out "the incompatibility of the strategic stability upon which American safety depends and the use of escalation as a device to extend American protection . . . to . . . Europeans." The trend toward a reduction in American forces in Europe makes the construction of a conventional balance to solve this problem of European security difficult. Thus the doubts surrounding the credibility of the American nuclear guarantee and the recognition "that American security interests are no longer interpreted in the simple geopolitical terms that once gave Europe unquestioned priority" reinforce the belief that, in the long run, Western Europe will have to unite and provide its own nuclear counterweight. In the immediate future, however, Europe should retain as much of the American connection as possible, and Americans should become aware that NATO has made the biggest contribution to strategic stability thus far.

1622
Maruyama, Shizuo. [SECURITY IN THE ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION] Sicherheit im asiatischpazifischen Raum. Moderne Welt, v. 10, no. 1, 1969: 44-47. D839.M58, v. 10

Criticizes the idea of Asian-Pacific alliances that would be subservient to the superpowers. Maruyama sees the greatest danger to Asian-Pacific security in Red China's preponderance over other Asian nations in military strength and population and in the other nations' political and economic instability.

1623
Mendershausen, Horst. DEFENSE POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 19 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3792) AS36.R28, no. 3792
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 71. AS36.R284, v. 6

This review of defense policies and developments in the Federal Republic of Germany focuses on a reversal in national priorities that occurred at the end of 1967: For the first time in the Federal Republic's history, domestic policy has been given top priority in contrast to the past one and a half decades during which the Western Alliance and rearmament have been emphasized. This reversal of priorities and the search for a new military policy reflect significant changes in German opinion and international circumstances. The expectations that led Adenauer to arm the Federal

Republic as a member of a Western, anti-Soviet security community have, in part, been fulfilled, but the reunification of Germany has not yet been achieved. The military strength of the Western Alliance is not likely to contribute to this goal. Two issues dominate the recurrent German defense debate: (1) local resistance versus deterrent strike forces, and (2) national versus alliance-oriented forces. (Abstract supplied)

1624
THE MILITARY: SERVANT OR MASTER OF POLICY? Time, v. 93, Apr. 11, 1969: 20-26. illus.
AP2.T37, v. 93

The current debate over the military's growing influence could be useful if more thorough reviews of defense programs are undertaken; a reappraisal of military deployment in relation to foreign policy has been long overdue. However, it could be dangerous if the Nation were polarized into military and antimilitary factions, for "blind antimilitarism could reduce the armed services to impotence" and isolate the military from society. Thus arguments of military critics that the Defense Department be dismantled and nuclear weapons be abandoned must be ignored; a strong military machine must be maintained--"although not necessarily at its present size, or guided by its present axioms." The military "needs guidance from civilian supervisors--both on Capitol Hill and in the White House--as to its role in the '70s"; the threat to national security must be balanced against other national needs and priorities assigned. If, in the future, old assumptions dominate American policy and uncertainty about U.S. global interests is present, then "the military could occupy the vacuum by fashioning its own, probably parochial policy. Ironically, a retreat from its world responsibilities could be as dangerous for American society as an excess of interventionist zeal." In determining future financial allocations to the defense establishment, Eisenhower's admonitions should be remembered: "Every addition to defense expenditures does not automatically increase military security," and citizens must remain alert so that the military does not intentionally or accidentally damage the society it is pledged to protect.

1625
Montfort, Colonel-divisionnaire. [WHAT'S NEW AT NATO?] A l'OTAN, quoi de nouveau? Revue militaire suisse, v. 114, Apr. 1969: 157-161.
U2.R5, v. 114

The only military alternative open to the West if the Soviet Union attacks Western Europe is to use nuclear weapons. The flexible response strategy, which depends on conventional forces during the first stage, is hopelessly outmoded and unworkable in view of the superior number of Warsaw Pact forces. NATO has fewer tanks, artillery pieces, and armored personnel carriers, and it presents a fragmented front in which the principal component, the United States, is inconvenienced by the necessities of an enormous airlift in case of an enemy attack. The Warsaw Pact forces, on the other hand, are "at home" in Europe, and "the forces that fight 'at home' have the net advantage."

1626
Montfort, Colonel-divisionnaire. [WHAT'S NEW AT NATO?] A l'OTAN, quoi de nouveau? Revue militaire suisse, v. 114, May 1969: 205-209.
U2.R5, v. 114

A summary of the latest news from NATO, which features a discussion on the Soviet threat in the Mediterranean and the Arctic Ocean, a "white paper" published in West Germany stressing the reliability of the flexible response and forward defense strategies, NATO's efforts to coordinate civil defense programs among its members, and the American deployment of an ABM system. Montfort is dismayed that NATO has yet to reinforce its conventional forces and concludes that nothing has changed in the alliance since the beginning of the year.

1627
Moore, John N. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND THE USE OF THE ARMED FORCES ABROAD. Naval War College review, v. 21, Jan. 1969: 28-38.
P&GP RR

A lecture delivered at the Naval War College, Oct. 11, 1968.

Reviews the historical controversy concerning the President's war powers, attempts to develop guidelines for limiting Presidential authority, and discusses the form that congressional authorization should take. Moore contends that the present international situation makes it imperative that the President have the power to act promptly and on his own authority but recommends that congressional authorization be required in certain cases--for example, "in all cases where regular combat units are committed to sustained hostilities." As for the form of this authorization, he argues that a declaration of war is not essential and that Congress can legitimately delegate its war power to the President.

1628
Morgan, Carlyle. NATO: A NEW DESIRE TO EXIST. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 7, spring 1969: 53-58.
D839.A85, v. 7

The Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia and the Western response of November 16, 1968, have given NATO a new lease on life. The objectives of the alliance are still "defense, deterrence, and détente," but now these aims are being pursued with a vital new spirit. Nowhere is the change in attitude more in evidence than in France, which, without repudiating its unpopular and devisive approach to East-West relations, threw its support behind the alliance in the hour of crisis. The emergence of new challenges in the Mediterranean region and the gray areas outside NATO and the Soviet bloc makes this revitalization of the alliance as a whole and the apparent intention of the United States to reassume its old posture of energetic leadership especially welcome. Not unexpectedly, the European attitude toward the restoration of U.S. influence is somewhat ambivalent, as the plan to activate a European "caucus" in NATO to serve as a counterweight to the United States makes clear. However, the United States itself supports this plan, believing that it offers a possible substitute source of initiative for those occasions when the United States is preoccupied elsewhere in the world or at home.

1629
Nielsen, Walter. [TWENTY YEARS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY] Zwanzig Jahre Nordatlantikpakt. Aussenpolitik, v. 20, Apr. 1969: 193-215.
D839.A885, v. 20

Inquires into the future of NATO in the light of changing politicostrategic relationships. Nielsen considers the unresolved problems of the organization's

structure; the balance between NATO's European "nucleus," the majority of its member states, and its power center, the United States; and the Allies' common policy. While the Warsaw Treaty Organization is enterprising and offensive by virtue of its "lack of limitations in regard to its cause, time, and area," NATO is a "defensive-reactive" alliance. The author points out that Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia has stopped NATO's disintegration. The military strategies of the two alliances are also discussed.

1630
Nixon, Richard M. BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE. Survival, v. 11, May 1969: 146-148.
U162.S9, v. 11
Full text of a statement presented Mar. 14, 1969.

Following a full review of the Sentinel ABM system it was decided to proceed immediately with the development and construction of a modified system subject to annual review. The modified system, whose "defensive intent is unmistakable," will initially be deployed around two missile sites. It has three objectives: "protection of our land-based retaliatory forces against a direct attack by the Soviet Union; . . . defence of the American people against the kind of attack which Communist China is likely to be able to mount within the decade; [and] protection against the possibility of accidental attacks from any source." Alternatives to this system--defense of the cities, continuation of the Sentinel program, and postponement of deployment pending further research and development--were rejected, the last because Soviet and Chinese advances make further delay a threat to American security. The modified system is not provocative and should not complicate negotiations with the Soviet Union for an effective arms limitation agreement.

1631
Owen, Guillermo. MINIMIZATION OF FATALITIES IN A NUCLEAR ATTACK MODEL. Operations research, v. 17, May/June 1969: 489-505.
Q175.O63, v. 17

Considers a two-sided war game in which one side (the defender) must first deploy its defenses, consisting of both a passive defense (shelters) and an active defense (anti-missile missiles); the other side (the attacker) then decides how to aim its missiles. The defender is constrained by budget limitations, while the attacker is constrained by the number of missiles available. The payoff is in terms of fatalities. Owen uses a convex duality theorem to change the min-max problem to a pure minimization problem and obtains a solution that obeys the no-soft-spot rule. An example shows the effects of attack and budget sizes, as well as of the costs of ABM defense. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1632
Palsokar, R. D. MINIMUM DETERRENT--A DIRE NECESSITY. In United Service Institution of India, New Delhi. Journal, v. 98, Apr./June 1968: 126-132.
U1.U5, v. 98

In a future war, China might use tactical nuclear weapons against India. Thus India should have its own "minimum deterrent" in the form of low-yield nuclear weapons. However, until it acquires these weapons, India should procure improved conventional weapons with greater blast and lethal ability. Moreover, India should consider employing chemical and biological weapons in the event of a Chinese nuclear attack, should "construct Maginot Line type underground defences in particularly sensitive sectors," and should educate its troops as to the effects of nuclear weapons and the proper preparations for an atomic attack.

1633
Parnell, Charles L. VICTORY IN LIMITED WAR. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 95, June 1969: 26-31. illus.
V1.U8, v. 95

The United States will have to adopt a strategy for winning limited wars and let the Communists know that it will not tolerate intrusions into the free world under the guise of "national liberation movements." A winning strategy entails beliefs in military victory in limited war and strategic superiority to prevent a general war. To cope with "the Communist strategy of nibbling aggression" the United States should respond to aggression while it is in the incipient stage. Further, it should cut the insurgents' line of communication, encircle them, progagandize their atrocities, employ counterterror tactics, and finally annihilate them. The United States should pursue negotiations during limited war only if the enemy wants to end the fighting and make peace as soon as possible. Any emphasis on traditional diplomacy while dealing with powers that lack good faith is hopeless and time consuming; the emphasis should be on victory, not on prolonged indecision.

1634
Patijn, C. L. THE WEST AND THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. NATO letter, v. 16, Dec. 1968: 6-8. illus.
D845.2.A44, v. 16
"Part of an introductory report on 'The Future of the Atlantic Alliance' submitted to the Fourteenth General Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association in Lisbon last October."

Discusses NATO's role in the Third World and suggests several measures the alliance could take to preserve stability and order in the international community. Patijn sees NATO not as an international policeman but as an organization that formulates common politicomilitary policies for its members. He believes NATO's strength lies in the solidarity of its member states and their common approach toward world problems and concludes that greater European self-confidence and a strong American will "to lead a free family of nations at the cost of some freedom for the United States itself" are essential for a workable Atlantic political system.

1635
Possony, Stefan T. NATO'S DEFENSE POSTURE. Ordnance, v. 54, July/Aug. 1969: 41-45. illus.
UF1.O67, v. 54

European security depends upon tactical nuclear forces, not upon a combination of marginally superior U.S. strategic forces and conventional European armies. Unfortunately the tactical nuclear weapons now deployed in Europe are obsolete; they produce unnecessary fallout, are too large, and have deficient delivery systems. However, these weapons can be 'tailored' to fit a given target or mission. . . . [and] provided with the amount and kind of energy that military objectives would require." As such, they would strengthen defense in ground battle and "render obsolete those strategies that aim at invasion and

occupation." Considering that the Soviet Union is employing tactical nuclear rockets as the "basis" of its ground forces, the United States should modify its "policy on the release of nuclear weapons--notably the definition of those circumstances that would necessitate the instant employment of tactical weapons, and the granting of authority to the NATO commander to use those weapons under precisely defined circumstances."

1636
Possony, Stefan T. [THE NECESSITY OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE] Die Notwendigkeit taktischer Atomwaffen bei der Verteidigung Westeuropas. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Mar. 1969: 118-123.
U3.W396, v. 18

Dismisses as a myth the notion that Western Europe can be defended with conventional weapons and criticizes the Kennedy and Johnson administrations for the progressing obsolescence of American tactical nuclear weapons in Europe; since 1961 the American arsenal there has not been replenished with newer and more effective models of those weapons. Possony considers it impossible to stop world progress in the military and peaceful utilization of nuclear science and technology and contends that conventional warfare becomes costlier than nuclear warfare. He discusses the essential quality of tactical nuclear weapons, the possibilities for their further development--"clean" bombs, neutron bombs--and the strategic implications of small nuclear arms for NATO and Europe.

1637
Rahul. PROFESSIONALISM VERSUS POLITICS IN THE CHINESE ARMY. Eastern world, v. 23, Mar./Apr. 1969: 10-12, 22. DS501.E45, v. 23

The issue of professionalism versus politics has plagued the Chinese Communist Armed Forces from their formation almost 40 years ago, but, until the party came to power in 1949 and it became necessary to replace the guerrilla force with a regular army, the dispute was not critical. From 1949 to the present, three major power struggles have been waged over this issue; in each case, the victory has gone to Mao Tse-tung, who has always insisted upon the precedence of ideological considerations over narrowly military ones. A major reason for Mao's opposition to professionalism has been his recognition that a modern professional army would be highly dependent on the Soviet Union for training and material. The professional opposition, while not denying this, points out that some degree of dependence would be a small price to pay for a common Socialist front against the United States and the protection afforded by Soviet nuclear weapons. They denounce Mao's obsession with self-reliance and think little of his doctrine of the superiority of human over material factors in modern war. For the moment, Mao still has the upper hand, but his victories are unlikely to be permanent. China requires a modern army, and a modern army requires professional military men. This new class will put loyalty to professional norms above loyalty to political creeds and will insist that the armed forces be shielded from political meddling.

1638
Ranganathan, A. [SECURITY FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA; A GEOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS] Sicherheit für Südostasien; eine geopolitische Analyse. Modern Welt, v. 10, no. 1, 1969: 40-43.
D839.M58, v. 10

Points out Moscow's traditional practice of directing Russian political expansionism to central Asia each time its expansionist endeavors fail in Europe. Since the Soviet Union and Red China now aim at controlling respectively, western and eastern access to the Indian subcontinent, and the Chinese threat to India involves potential nuclear, conventional, and subversive warfare, Indian security requires political and strategic alliances with free Asian nations, including Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and Australia.

1639
REPORT OF CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE MILITARY BUDGET AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES. Congressional record [daily ed.] 91st Congress, 1st session, v. 115, June 2, 1969: H4379-H4387.
J11.R5, v. 115

Full text of a report issued by the Conference, which met March 28 and 29, 1969, in Washington, D.C., together with the names of the 18 noncongressional participants and the nine Senators and 36 Congressmen who signed the report.
See also item 1562 in this bibliography.

Examines the nature of the national security establishment in the United States and its effects on the Nation's foreign and domestic policies and programs. The purpose of the Conference "was to articulate the basic issues of the militarization of American society and to make concrete proposals for restoring democratic control over the military budget." The report stresses that responsibility for the present situation lies not with the military but with "the civilian leadership and the institutions they have created to centralize and expand the performance of national security functions."

1640
Rhodes, John J. DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE 1970'S; INSTANT MYTHS. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, May 15, 1969: 460-462.
PN6121.V52, v. 35
"Delivered before the AFCEA, April 3, 1969."

Asserts that America's defense programs in the 70's will be influenced significantly by what people believe to be the principal threats and needs of the country and what they believe the performance of the defense industrial team to be. Rhodes argues that domestic problems cannot be solved at the expense of national defense and dismisses as myths the beliefs that America's defense contractors are profiteers and that electronic contractors fail to give the Government what their contracts specify.

1641
Rubtsov, O. THE "SPIRITUAL" WEAPON OF THE BUNDESWEHR. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, May 21, 1969: 24.
D839.C87, v. 21
Translated and condensed from Krasnaia zvezda, Apr. 27, 1969. Slav Rm

Describes and criticizes the ideological indoctrination system in the Bundeswehr, which, Rubtsov notes, serves to poison the minds of West German soldiers "with the venom of anticommunism and revanchism."

The author concludes that the system is a breeding ground for neonazism and that it has turned the West German Army "into a dangerous tool in the hands of . . . reactionary [and] aggressive forces," which are seeking to avenge their defeat under Hitler.

1642
Rusque, Henri K., and Gabriel S. Avoid. DISASTER PREPAREDNESS IN CHILE. International civil defence, v. 16, Feb. 1969: 1-7.
UA926.I488, v. 16

A report that outlines the necessity for Chile's civil defense program and describes the various governmental, private, and voluntary agencies involved. The authors conclude that the Government, although conscious of the restricted scope of its civil defense program, seeks to serve the community, especially "the least privileged classes of the population."

1643
Rybakov, M. V. V. I. LENIN ON THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY IN ORGANIZING THE DEFENSES OF THE SOCIALIST STATE. [Washington] Joint Publications Research Service, 1969. 22 p. (JPRS 47,521)
AS36.U57, no. 47,521
Translated from Voprosy istorii, no. 1, 1969, p. 90-101. Slav Rm

Outlines the Marxist-Leninist theory of party-military relations. Rybakov states the theoretical justification for a Socialist military establishment, describes the creation of the Red Army, emphasizes the leading role of the Communist Party in military affairs, and asserts the superiority of Leninist military science.

1644
Schlech, Walter F. THE REQUIREMENTS FOR DEFENSE; THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE IN PERSPECTIVE. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, May 1, 1969: 425-430. PN6121.V52, v. 35
"Delivered at the Tulane University Twentieth Annual Institute on Foreign Transportation and Port Operations, New Orleans, La., March 24, 1969."

Maintains that a strong merchant marine is essential for defense and notes that revolutionary changes are taking place in the U.S. merchant marine, although its current state is deplorable. Schlech concludes that the marine industry has abandoned its conservative approach to research and development and has accepted the challenges before it.

1645
Schrader, Rudolf. [DEFENSE RESEARCH IN NORWAY] Die Verteidigungsforschung in Norwegen. Aussenpolitik, v. 20, Mar. 1969: 181-188.
D839.A885, v. 20

Details the Norwegian defense research effort, particularly that of the Forvarets Forskningsinstitutt (Defense Research Institute), which is financed in part by the U.S. Mutual Weapons Development Program. Schrader also considers the defense research and development of small nations and its relationship to their defense posture.

1646
[SEAPOWER: A NEW RIVAL] Naval War College review, v. 21, June 1969: 4-59, 64-151, 154-174.
P&GP RR

Contents.--The Russian maritime threat; an approach to the problem, by Henry E. Eccles.--An appraisal of Soviet maritime-naval capabilities, by Edward L. Beach.--Naval tradition: a Russian heritage, by Wayne L. Chadick.--The United Nations in Oceania: new dimensions in the cold war refrain, by William O. Miller.--The national defense requirement for a U.S.-flag merchant marine, by Robert E. McCleave, Jr.--Soviet aid and trade and its threat to the free world, by Philip L. Gamble.--Ocean fisheries: national instrument for international stability, by John T. Robison.--The deep sea resources, by John D. Lewis.--The Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean Sea, by Carl H. Amme, Jr.--A committee report of the strategic planning study on U.S. alternatives for an Indian Ocean area policy, by Olva B. Butler and others.

Reviews the dramatic growth in Soviet maritime power and assesses its significance as a threat to U.S. maritime power.

1647
Sharifov, A. THE PENTAGON'S TENTACLES. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, May 7, 1969: 18-19.
D839.C87, v. 21
Translated from Izvestiia, Apr. 17, 1969.
Slav Rm

Deplores the number of American military bases in Turkey, noting that they are "causing legitimate anxiety in the broadest circles of the country's public." The Pentagon and its assistants in Turkey spread rumors concerning impending cutbacks in these bases to calm the Turkish citizenry, but the cutbacks never materialize, and public opinion is distracted from other plans; e.g., U.S. requests to create a spaceship-tracking station in Pirinchilik. Sharifov cites a Turkish newspaper report that states that "the Pentagon does not intend to curtail its plans with respect to the utilization of Turkish territory."

1648
Sharp, Mitchell. [NATO IN CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE] L'OTAN dans la perspective canadienne. In Canada. Ministère des affaires extérieures. Affaires extérieures, v. 21, Apr. 1969: 163-171.
JX351.A3, v. 21
Speech presented to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs Conference, University of Calgary, March 1, 1969.

Discusses the current review of Canadian foreign and defense policies within the context of that country's role in the Atlantic Alliance. Sharp outlines the unique characteristics of NATO as an effective peacetime alliance and notes several criticisms directed against the organization. He concludes that, despite the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the urge for freedom behind the Iron Curtain cannot be indefinitely suppressed; however, with all the uncertainties stemming from the Soviet action, the period ahead will call for vigilance and perception.

1649
Simons, W. E. MILITARY PROFESSIONALS AS POLICY ADVISERS. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 21 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3856)
AS36.R28, no. 3856
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 77.
AS36.R284, v. 6

The military has an obligation to see that national military commitments are based on realistic evaluations. Therefore, national security policymaking activity should regularly involve military judgments, since (1) all aspects of national security relate in some way to military forces, (2) a lack of military advice could result in overcommitment or shortcomings, and (3) decisions should be realistically appraised as to available alternatives. At present the Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS], the only regular representative of the military in the policymaking process, is a technical bureau, largely self-limited to providing narrow judgments on request. Instead, the JCS should help to formulate realistic policy objectives and, at the same time, stimulate consideration of the possible costs and risks of contemplated courses of national action. (Abstract supplied)

1650
Sobik, E. [THE MARXIST DOCTRINE OF WAR AND ARMED FORCES; A CONTRIBUTION TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE DOCTRINE AND ITS EFFECTS ON PRACTICE] Die marxistische Lehre vom Krieg und von den Streitkräften; ein Beitrag zum besseren Verstehen der Lehre und ihrer Auswirkungen auf die Praxis. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 135, Feb. 1969: 72-79.
U3.A43, v. 135

Describes Marxist, particularly Soviet, notions on the causes, arts, and character of war. Sobik considers the current Soviet doctrine of military strategy and discusses the development of Soviet military thought and its dependence on Communist ideology.

1651
THE SOVIET ABM MONOPOLY [editorial] In American Security Council. Washington report, Apr. 21, 1969: 1-4. P&GP RR

Describes the Soviet ABM system and notes its high priority in Russian military planning. The editors conclude that Americans must give serious consideration to the possible consequences of rejecting the Safeguard system.

1652
SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON NATO. Reprints from the Soviet press, v. 8, May 2, 1969: 3-11.
DK266.A2R37, v. 8

Translation of a statement published in all Soviet papers, April 10, 1969.

Condemns NATO as a major obstacle to the peace and security of Europe and urges a settlement based on cooperation and mutual recognition of the present political and geographic realities of Europe.

1653
Speidel, Hans. [THOUGHTS ABOUT THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE; FROM THE TREATY ON THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY UNTIL THE PRESENT] Gedanken zur Verteidigung Europas; vom EVG-Vertrag zur Gegenwart. Politische Welt, v. 12, Mar. 1969: 27-31; Apr. 1969: 15-19.
D839.P65, v. 12

Considers the development of the defense strategy and military posture of Western Europe from 1954. Speidel contends that "balanced arms control or a decrease in armaments requires a precise knowledge of the adversary's defense structure and of expected technological and economic progress." Changes in NATO's defense strategy are also discussed. The alliance's strategy can be flexible enough to include the strategy of absolute deterrence, flexible-response strategy, and current French strategy. "NATO should also be credibly armed for a big war, which it does not expect."

1654
Stone, Jeremy J. THE CASE AGAINST MISSILE DEFENCES. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1968. 15 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 47)
U162.A3, no. 47

Opposes the suggestion that the Chinese-oriented Sentinel ABM system be used as a building block in a larger Soviet-oriented system. Stone reviews the history of the Sentinel decision, sketches in a picture of the political and strategic environment within which the system would have to operate, and discusses the relationship between missile defenses and arms control, European security, and the problem of crisis management. The reasons for a heavy ABM system "have always been sufficient expectation of nuclear war, and sufficient expectation that the defense would work, to override the obvious economic and political arguments against it." Therefore, since nuclear war is clearly a "low probability threat," and the effectiveness of missile defenses is very much in doubt, there can be no compelling reason for expanding the Sentinel system. Nevertheless, since the United States has still to learn the difference between "a legitimate interest in insurance and an obsessive, neurotic concern for an unachievable nuclear security," it is probable that the larger system will be built.

1655
Teplinskii, B. THE ARCTIC, THE PENTAGON AND NATO. New times, no. 7, Feb. 19, 1969: 6-9. map.
D839.N483, 1969

A survey of U.S. air, naval, and submarine bases; air, sea, and under-ice routes; and the extensive U.S. meteorological research in the Arctic. Teplinskii maintains that the U.S. "Northern operations" zone, which links the European zone of NATO and the Atlantic with the United States-Canada strategic area and the U.S. Armed Forces in the Pacific, is designed to become, in the event of war, "a theater of hostilities of global dimensions." While the Soviet Union is trying to place the Arctic "at the service of peace," U.S. activities in the area are predominantly of a military nature and are setting the stage for a global war.

1656
Thilo, Karl W. [ARE THERE ANY ALTERNATIVES TO NATO?] Gibt es Alternativen der NATO? Wehrkunde, v. 18, Jan. 1969: 1-6.
U3.W396, v. 18

The difference between the Soviet and Red Chinese imperialistic policies, which aim at Communist world domination, is the time each of them considers most favorable for dealing the West a deadly blow. Peking sees such an opportunity now; Moscow, which trusts Lenin's prophecy of the impending moral decline of capitalist states, postpones the confrontation until

later. The West would be living up to Lenin's expectations by basing its military strategy on the assumption of an immediate, viable East-West détente. At their May 1968 meeting, NATO defense Ministers unanimously appraised the Soviet military threat as serious; they were, however, less in accord on measures to be adopted for coping with the threat. Although NATO's strategy of flexible response seems well suited for deterring Soviet attacks, it cannot fulfill its role for long without adequate means at its disposal. The strength of the Warsaw Pact forces, which confront the NATO defense line stretching from Jutland to the Alps, far exceeds NATO's, and Moscow is building up its naval might impressively in the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean to outflank NATO's central European defenses. The current annual growth rate of Soviet military expenditures surpasses that of the Soviet gross social product. In the absence of West European political and military integration there is no alternative to NATO for providing West European security. France's military isolationism and its nuclear strategy cannot possibly deter Soviet aggression. No European nation is able to protect its security without American help. NATO countries, especially West Germany, should contribute to the alliance's military posture more substantially than they are planning to do.

1657

[TWENTY YEARS OF NATO] NATO's fifteen nations, v. 14, Feb./Mar. 1969: 23-64, 74-158. illus.
UA646.F5, v. 14

Contents.--pt. 1. Twenty years [of] NATO and a future ahead: NATO and its future, by Manlio Brosio. NATO a flexible structure. NATO--20 years, by A. de Staercke. The military organization of NATO, by Sir Nigel Henderson. "NATO is rich with promise of greatness and reward," by Dwight D. Eisenhower. Functions and future of Atlantic Command, by E. P. Holmes. ACLANT in the preceding years. Allied Command Channel, by Sir John Bush.--pt. 2. Subjects of great importance for NATO's future: The purpose of NATO and its future development, by Alastair Buchan. The U.S. and the future of NATO, by Harlan Cleveland. The nuclear and maritime power of the Soviet Union, by Malcolm MacKintosh. Desirable development of East-West relations in the seventies, by Altiero Spinelli. Alliances in the next several decades, by Herman Kahn. Strategy in development, by Paul Stehlin. European-American cooperation in the seventies, by Max Kohnstamm. No alternative to integrated Western Europe, by F. O. Miksche. Strategic significance of southern Africa, by E. S. Virpsha. The younger generation and the Atlantic Alliance, by Julian Critchley.--pt. 3. Science, technology and industries supporting NATO in safeguarding peace and security: Science and technology, by Dalimil Kybal. Combat aircraft for the seventies, by John W. R. Taylor. Contribution of the peaceful uses of space. Shipbuilding in peace and war, by L. Redshaw. Future electronics in the tactical environment, by H. J. Verbiest. The continuum of Kremlin aggression, by H. G. Dudley.

Essays on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization--its past, its present, and its future.

1658

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee. U.S. TACTICAL AIR POWER PROGRAM. Hearings, Ninetieth Congress, second session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968. 240 p.
TL685.3.U636

Hearings held May 14-June 6, 1968.

Explores U.S. military requirements for tactical aircraft, the justification for them, the extent to which they have been approved by civilian authority, and the reasons for denying or reducing "the service requests [for tactical aircraft] where this has occurred." Testimony by Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations, and Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, Commandant of the Marine Corps, is included.

1659

U.S. Dept. of the Army. Army Library. CIVIL DEFENSE: 1960-67; A BIBLIOGRAPHIC SURVEY. Washington, Dept. of the Army [for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print Off.] 1967. 124 p. illus.
Z6724.C6U454

Contents.--The menace of nuclear war and strategies for national defense.--Civil defense and the American people.--Congress and civil defense.--Implementing and administering civil defense.--Civil defense in foreign countries.--Sources for reference and further study.--Appendixes.

Annotated bibliography of books, articles, and Government publications that deal with the nontechnical aspects of civil defense and related topics.

1660

Van der Kroef, Justus M. [THE DEFENSE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AFTER VIETNAM] Die Verteidigung Südostasiens nach Vietnam. Aussenpolitik, v. 20, Apr. 1969: 222-229.
D839.A885, v. 20

Delineates the principles that will determine the attitude of different Asian nations toward the problem of Southeast Asian defense once the United States disengages itself from the Vietnamese conflict. Van der Kroef discusses the multilateral balance of power, an independent regional elitism, and the American deterrence system--each acceptable to different Asian countries as a means of their security.

1661

Wallace, Richard J. THIS IS THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY YEAR. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 7, spring 1969: 11-17.
D839.A85, v. 7

For the last two decades, the Western World has been occupied with the challenging task of organizing the Atlantic community. For its part, the United States has sought to encourage the unification of Europe as the first step toward a later "partnership between a United Europe and the United States." Initially, progress toward European unity and closer Atlantic cooperation was rapid, but more recently the appearance of Gaullism in Europe and American preoccupation with Vietnam have interrupted the advance. Now, in this 20th year of the Atlantic Treaty, with these seriously devisive trends so much in evidence, a turning point in the history of the community has been reached, and a reassessment of the role of NATO is called for. That organization must be thought of "not as the world's greatest military machine, but as the world's greatest

peace machine." It is, in the words of Senator Vandenberg, "an Alliance against war itself," and its work encompasses political and economic, as well as military, tasks. The alliance has been a success, but the West can find no ground here for complacency. In the face of new challenges, NATO can and must be transcended. What is needed "is the political will and determination to sit down and reason together on these larger than national problems, using the institutions at hand . . . and inventing new institutions as needed."

1662
WHO IS LYING? CONTROVERSY ON ARMS PRODUCTION IN W. BERLIN. Democratic German report, v. 18, Mar. 26, 1969: 41-42.
DD261.D3, v. 18

Dismisses as unfounded Bonn's denials to the Soviet and East German announcements that military equipment and articles of strategic importance are produced in West Berlin for the West German forces. The article lists firms producing such material and contends that the West German Bundeswehr maintains its reservists in West Berlin to mobilize them at an opportune moment for aggression against the German Democratic Republic.

1663
Winbauer, Alois. [MOSCOW'S FORWARD STRATEGY] Moskaus Vorwärtsstrategie. Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau; Zeitschrift für die europäische Sicherheit, v. 19, Feb. 1969: 61-67.
U3.W485, v. 19

Contends that "a new phase in tension and power relationships between the West and the East has begun," which calls for changes in the West's military posture and strategy to cope with the growing Soviet military threat to NATO defenses in Europe. The precision of Soviet military operations against Czechoslovakia in the single day of August 21, 1968, discredited McNamara's "early-warning doctrine together with its 15 escalation stages." The Soviet Union uses Napoleon's tactics of encirclement of the enemy's main force; viz, an intensive buildup of Soviet forces on the northern and southern flanks of the NATO central defense front in Europe. An increase in Soviet naval forces in the Mediterranean and in Moscow's political influence in the Near East poses a serious danger to NATO defense in central Europe.

1664
Wolfe, Thomas W. EVOLUTION OF SOVIET MILITARY POLICY. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 40 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3773)
AS36.R28, no. 3773
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 70.
AS36.R284, v. 6

An analysis of Soviet military policy under the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime. Soviet efforts in the strategic field have been directed toward buildup of the strategic delivery forces and the strengthening of strategic defenses, including the initiation of ABM deployment. The regime also has attempted to improve the mobility of Soviet conventional or general-purpose forces, a process which has involved transforming the Soviet navy from its traditional role of a mere adjunct to Soviet land power into an instrument for global support of Soviet interests. Political-military relations, an area of recurrent tension during the 50 years of Soviet history, have taken on a new significance in view of the special problems created by the nuclear age. These problems fall into three categories: (1) maintaining political control over the armed forces in time of crisis; (2) meshing industrial-military planning; and (3) balancing military influence on Soviet policy formulation against the need of political authorities to rely increasingly on the professional expertise of the military leadership. (Abstract supplied)

1665
Wolfe, Thomas W. THE SOVIET QUEST FOR MORE GLOBALLY MOBILE MILITARY POWERS. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1967. 28 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5554-PR)
Q180.A1R36, no. 5554
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 50. AS36.R284, v. 6

An analysis of the Soviet Union's efforts to improve the mobility of its traditionally continental military power. This study, prompted by rising interest in the question of what the Soviet leaders intend to do with a growing capability for intervention in different regions of the world, assesses the accomplishments and present ability of the Soviets to challenge the West in the domain of globally mobile military power. The Soviet Union took its first steps toward this goal under Khrushchev: military aid to the countries of the Third World, development of long-range transport aircraft, a tactical interest in amphibious and airborne landing, a steady rise in merchant shipping. Brezhnev and Kosygin have continued these developments. Efforts toward mobility are overshadowed by a desire to strengthen the Soviet strategic posture, but the two taken together bring the military force into better line with the Soviet Union's growing obligations and commitments. The military balance of power continues to favor the United States, but the disparity is lessening. (Abstract supplied)

D. CONSEQUENCES OF NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICIES AND WAR

1. Biological

1666
Boni, A. L. VARIATIONS IN THE RETENTION AND EXCRETION OF ^{137}Cs WITH AGE AND SEX. Nature (London) v. 222, June 21, 1969: 1188-1189.
Q1.N2, v. 222

Reports the findings of "a four-year study to determine the biological behaviour of ^{137}Cs in 110 people representing a cross-section of the general population." The significance of the study derives from the circumstance that "the biological behaviour of ^{137}Cs is important in measuring the dose received by the general population from fallout as well as that received by an individual from a specific uptake."

1667
Briggs, Michael. CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE. Humanist, v. 84, July 1969: 201-206.
BL2700.H78, v. 84

Surveys the types of chemical and biological weapons that have been developed, their effects, and methods

of delivery. Briggs points to the use of chemical warfare in Southeast Asia and concludes that "there is little reason to doubt that it will be used increasingly in any future 'small' war."

1668
Conference on Chemical and Biological Warfare, London, 1968. CBW: CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE. Edited by Steven Rose with the assistance of David Pavett. Boston, Beacon Press [1969, c1968] 209 p. UG447.C655 1968a

Contents.--Introduction, by Lord Ritchie-Calder.--pt. 1. The weapons: Chemical weapons, by J. Perry Robinson. Psychedelics, by C. R. B. Joyce. Napalm, by V. W. Sidel. Biological weapons, by I. Málek. Defoliants, by A. W. Galston. Starvation as a weapon, by J. Mayer.--pt. 2. CBW in use: Vietnam, by M. F. Kahn. The Yemen, by M. Meselson and D. E. Viney.--pt. 3. Research policy: United Kingdom, by R. Clarke and J. Perry Robinson. United States, by Elinor Langer. Soviet Union, by D. E. Viney.--pt. 4. Legal aspects of CBW: Legal aspects, by I. Brownlie.--pt. 5. Ethical problems: Preventing CBW, by J. H. Humphrey and M. Meselson. Medical ethics, by V. W. Sidel. Scientific responsibility, by C. F. Powell. Some conclusions, by S. P. R. Rose.--Biographical notes.--References.--Glossary.--Index.

A series of essays alerting the international community to the dangers of chemical and biological weapons.

1669
Glazov, V. CB WARFARE PREPARATIONS--ANOTHER IMPERIALIST CRIME. New times, no. 24, June 18, 1969: 18-20. D839.N483, 1969

The United States, which has refused to ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning chemical and biological warfare (CBW), is now spending at least $400 million annually to develop and produce new CBW agents, and it shares its findings with several of its military-bloc partners. It has employed chemical warfare on a large scale in Vietnam, particularly in its efforts to destroy crops and forests, and has caused thousands of deaths and injuries in the process. Washington is evidently attracted by the relatively low cost of CBW weapons, which explains its attempts to rationalize this inhuman form of warfare.

1670
Hersh, Seymour M. GERMS AND GAS AS WEAPONS. New republic, v. 160, June 7, 1969: 13-16. AP2.N624, v. 160

Deplores the secrecy surrounding America's chemical and biological warfare (CBW) program and notes the attempt of Representative Richard D. McCarthy to bring the Pentagon's CBW efforts to public attention. Hersh emphasizes "that the US is testing virulent and lethal biological agents in the open, despite dangers."

1671
Hersh, Seymour M. ON UNCOVERING THE GREAT NERVE GAS COVERUP. Ramparts, v. 7, June 1969: 12-18. illus. AP2.R19, v. 7

Describes the Dugway incident, which, Hersh maintains, "is a microcosm of what's wrong with America, of what's really meant by the phrase 'military-industrial complex.'" Hersh notes that chemical and biological warfare operations prosper because of military secrecy, the heavy dependence of the public on military expenditures, and the seeming apathy of citizens. He concludes that a second Dugway incident is inevitable and points to the testing of Venezuelan equine encephalitis--a biological agent usually found in tropical areas, which has recently been discovered in Utah.

1672
Hersh, Seymour M. SILENT DEATH. Progressive, v. 33, May 1969: 13-16. AP2.P8655, v. 33

Focuses upon U.S. involvement in chemical and biological warfare (CBW) and the strategic implications of such warfare. Hersh maintains that the responsibility for investigating America's CBW activities rests with Congress; the military and the Executive have demonstrated a definite lack of concern.

1673
McCarthy, Richard D. POISON FOR PEACE. Commonweal, v. 90, June 6, 1969: 335-337. AP2.C6897, v. 90

Expresses concern over both the adoption by the United States of a chemical and biological warfare (CBW) policy that is in evident conflict with the position of U.S. Presidents for over 40 years and the secrecy that removed CBW policies and practices from public debate and created a serious information gap. The U.S. arsenal now contains an estimated billion lethal doses of nerve gas, and recent events, such as the Denver earthquakes or the Skull Valley Sheep deaths, demonstrate that the storage and transportation of the gases constitute a real danger to the population. McCarthy feels that the problem should be submitted to a searching debate and that the United States should belatedly ratify the 1925 Geneva Protocol, which prohibits the first use of CBW.

1674
Persson, G., and J. Sisefsky. DEBRIS FROM THE SIXTH CHINESE NUCLEAR TEST. Nature (London) v. 223, July 12, 1969: 173-175. Q1.N2, v. 223

Reports the detection of radioactive debris from the Chinese Communist test of a thermonuclear device at Lop Nor on June 17, 1967. The debris was found in routine samples of ground-level and high-level air and precipitation in Sweden and analyzed at the Research Institute of National Defense in Stockholm.

1675
Petras, Ehrenfried. DEATH IN THE DARK. GDR review, no. 2, 1969: 36-39. illus. DD261.G2, 1969
Transcript of an interview by Gerhard Töpelmann.

Discusses research on biological and chemical weapons at the Grafschaft Institute and similar research institutes in West Germany. Petras contends that the West German Defense Ministry controls this type of research and that at least some of the agents under study could be used only for offensive purposes.

1676
Shimizu, Kiyoshi. AN EPIDEMIOLOGICAL STUDY ON LEUKEMIA IN SURVIVORS EXPOSED TO THE

ATOMIC BOMB IN CHILDHOOD IN HIROSHIMA. Hiroshima journal of medical sciences, v. 17, Sept. 1968: 123-129. DNLM

Reports the results of an epidemiological study of 291 persons who were exposed in childhood to radiation from the nuclear weapon exploded at Hiroshima and later were diagnosed as having contracted myelogenic leukemia. The findings are reported in the following categories: distribution of the disease, by age at exposure and sex; mortality, by age at exposure and distance from the hypocenter; annual incidence per 100,000 exposed, by age at exposure, sex, and distance from the hypocenter; and survival time after the onset of the disease, by age at exposure.

1677
Swindle, D. L., and P. K. Kuroda. VARIATION OF THE Sr^{89}/Sr^{90} RATIO IN RAIN CAUSED BY THE CHINESE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS OF DECEMBER 28, 1966, AND JUNE 17, 1967. Journal of geophysical research, v. 74, Apr. 15, 1969: 2136-2140. QC811.J6, v. 74

Reports the results of strontium-89/strontium-90 ratio measurements made at Fayetteville, Arkansas, from January through September 1967. The two Chinese nuclear explosions produced detectable variations in the ratio. No changes that could be attributed to the reported Soviet underground test of December 18, 1966, were observed.

1678
THE THREAT OF BIOLOGICAL WARFARE TESTING. Congressional record [daily ed.] 91st Congress, 1st session, v. 115, May 8, 1969: S4782-S4799. J11.R5, v. 115

Texts of 3 articles inserted into the Record by Senator Gaylord Nelson: "On Uncovering the Great Nerve Gas Coverup," by Seymour M. Hersh, Ramparts, v. 7, June 1969: 12-18, AP2.R19, v. 7 (abstracted as item 1671 in this bibliography); "Biological Weapons," by Milton Leitenberg, Scientist and Citizen, v. 9, Aug./Sept. 1967: 153-167, UF767.S33, v. 9; and "Epidemiological Aspects of Venezuelan Equine Encephalitis Virus Infections," by Robert W. Sidwell, Louis P. Gebhardt, and Bert D. Thorpe, Bacteriological Reviews, v. 31, Mar. 1967: 65-81, QR1.B25, v. 31.

Hersh recounts the nerve gas test at Dugway Proving Grounds in March 1968 that accidentally resulted in the deaths of over 6,000 sheep and warns that a new disaster may be inevitable because of the testing of a potent biological agent, Venezuelan equine encephalitis (VEE). Leitenberg surveys the various kinds of diseases that may be used in biological warfare and charts their basic characteristics. He observes that progress in disseminating diseases has far exceeded progress in controlling them. Sidwell, Gebhardt, and Thorpe discuss the etiology, detection and diagnosis, epidemiology, and control of VEE. The authors note the presence of VEE viruses in a number of animals in the vicinity of Dugway Proving Grounds.

1679
UNITED NATIONS AGAINST CBW. Nature (London) v. 223, July 19, 1969: 233-234. Q1.N2, v. 223

Evaluates the report of the United Nations Expert Committee on Chemical and Bacteriological Weapons. The report, which stresses the unpredictability of these weapons, the threat they pose to the global environment, the difficulty of defense against them, and the dangers of their proliferation, constitutes "as strong a condemnation of these potential agents of modern warfare as any to have been published in the past few months." The report is weak in some areas; e.g., detection and warning; it is strong in most others. It contains much interesting and detailed information on the dissemination and efficacy of the principal agents and a careful attempt to estimate the effects of various kinds of attack on human populations. A particular feature of the report is a comparative estimate, presented in tabular form, of the "disabling effects of hypothetical attacks on totally unprotected populations using a nuclear, chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapon that could be carried by a single strategic bomber."

2. Economic

1680
AFTER VIETNAM: THE DOLLARS AND CENTS OF PEACE. Saturday review, v. 52, May 24, 1969: 11-22. illus. Z1219.S25, v. 52

Contents.--What happens when peace breaks out? by Senator Edmund S. Muskie.--Our Vietnamized economy, by Murray L. Weidenbaum.--How much money for plowshares? by John R. Stark.--Can industry manufacture social solutions? by James M. Gavin.

Examines the economic challenges and opportunities that will confront the United States once peace comes to Vietnam. Weidenbaum notes the effects of the war upon the American economy; Stark examines the possible disposition of material resources and manpower after the war; and Senator Muskie emphasizes the urgency of applying the Nation's resources to domestic problems.

1681
Arbatov, Iurii. U.S.A.: THE GREAT MISSILE DEBATE. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, Apr. 30, 1969: 16-17. D839.C87, v. 21
Translated from Izvestiia, Apr. 15, 1969. Slav Rm

Praises George Rathjens' leaflet The Future of the Strategic Arms Race: Options for the 1970's for its objectivity and candor in explaining the U.S. ABM debate and the implications for the strategic arms race of a deployed U.S. ABM system. According to Arbatov, Rathjens concludes that the United States cannot have "both guns and butter" and that it must no longer be "deprived of long-term possibilities resulting from equivalent investments in education, in capital construction and in other spheres basic to social development." Arbatov agrees with Rathjens that the outcome of the missile debate will depend on whether ABM opponents can resist the pressure of the military-industrial complex.

1682
BRITISH DEFENCE RESEARCH EXAMINED. Nature (London) v. 222, May 10, 1969: 505-506. Q1.N2, v. 222

Appraises the report on British defense research and development prepared by the House of Commons

363-421 O - 69 - 4

Select Committee on Science and Technology. A central feature of the report is its emphasis on the desirability of forging closer links between the defense research establishment and industry.

1683
Hoag, Malcolm W. DEFENSE ECONOMICS IN ACTION IN AMERICA. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 37 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3811)
AS36.R28, no. 3811
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 73.
AS36.R284, v. 6

An explanation of why and how defense intellectuals, especially but not exclusively economists, have significantly influenced U.S. military policy in recent years; how this influence has been consolidated by important changes in the organization and procedures of the Department of Defense; and why these bureaucratic changes are predicted to survive, despite Secretary McNamara's departure. The combination of (1) simple but pervasive concepts derived from maximization theories, (2) painstaking examination and design of relevant alternatives in systems analyses, and (3) alternatives so structured within our bureaucracy has yielded policy power. (Abstract supplied)

1684
Kihara, Masao. THE MILITARISATION OF THE JAPANESE ECONOMY. Kyoto University economic review, v. 38, Oct. 1968: 26-45.
HB9.K6, v. 38

The original U.S. policy of disarming and demilitarizing Japan after World War II was changed as early as 1948 to make that country "a defensive wall against communism." Later the evacuation of reparation items was eased, and the potential production power for munitions was preserved. Japan's war industries "came to operate again without her own accord in the form of the 'off-shore procurement demand' from the American Forces arising out of the needs of the Korean War." Thus the development of the postwar Japanese economy--the development of Japanese capitalism, the rapid progress of the heavy chemical industry, and technical innovations--can be understood only by giving due consideration to the revival of Japan's war industries.

1685
Loftus, J. E. LATIN AMERICAN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, 1938-1965. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 148 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5310-PR/ISA)
Q180.A1R36, no. 5310
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 43.
AS36.R284, v. 6

An analysis of Latin American defense expenditures, 1938-1965. The study is based on data published in the United Nations Statistical Yearbook. All data have been reduced to constant 1960 U.S. dollars. Defense spending reached a peak level of $1.4 billion in 1958, declined thereafter to about $1.2 billion, and turned upward in 1964 and 1965 to about $1.4 billion. Contrary to the commonly held view that Latin American defense spending has increased tremendously since the late 1930s, these measurements suggest at most a doubling--significantly less than the increase experienced by other countries. The hypothesis that Latin America defense spending is importantly affected by domestic political instability and fears of border conflicts is examined. Suggestions are made for future research and for improving the data reporting system of the Agency for International Development. (Abstract supplied)

1686
Lund, Nils. [THE DEFENSE OF SWEDEN IN THE SEVENTIES] Die Verteidigung Schwedens in den siebziger Jahren. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Feb. 1969: 65-67.
U3.W396, v. 18

Considers Sweden's defense outlays for 1968-72 and points out the decreasing share of military expenditures in the nation's budget and their diminishing ratio to Sweden's gross social product.

1687
Mansfield, Edwin, comp. DEFENSE, SCIENCE, AND PUBLIC POLICY. New York, Norton [1968] xvi, 224 p. (Problems of modern economy)
UA23.M28
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Prologue: The scientific revolution and public policy, by Jerome Wiesner. --pt. 1. Defense and the economy: The general problem of nuclear war, by Robert McNamara. Defense expenditures and the domestic economy, by Murray Weidenbaum. On the economic burden of defense, by James Tobin. The industrial-military complex, I, by Dwight D. Eisenhower. The industrial-military complex, II, by Adam Yarmolinsky.--pt. 2. Decision making in the Department of Defense: Program budgeting, by David Novick. Slow-down in the Pentagon, by Hanson W. Baldwin. The case for cost-effectiveness analysis, by Charles Hitch.--pt. 3. Military research and development: Policy issues involved in the conduct of military development programs, by Burton H. Klein. Improving the efficiency of military research and development, by Carl Kaysen. Kaysen on military research and development; a comment, by Paul W. Cherington. Weapons acquisition and public policy, by Merton Peck and F. M. Scherer.--pt. 4. Basic research, civilian technology, and public policy: The scientific estate, by Don Price. Research, development, and the Federal budget, by William D. Carey. Federal support of basic research, I, by Carl Kaysen. Federal support of basic research, II, by Harry G. Johnson. The technology gap and the brain drain, I, by Hubert Humphrey. The technology gap and the brain drain, II, by Richard Morse. The technology gap and the brain drain, III, by Harry G. Johnson. The allocation of research and development resources; some problems of public policy, by Richard R. Nelson. Civilian technology and public policy, by Edwin Mansfield.

Articles that explore the interaction of defense spending, the American economy, and science and technology.

1688
Mendershausen, Horst. FETISHES OF NATO AND THE DOLLAR. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 19 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3771)
AS36.R28, no. 3771
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 69.
AS36.R284, v. 6

Reviews the International Monetary Fund gold crisis and its relationship to the deterioration of the NATO alliance. Once basic NATO goals have now become fetishes: Common acceptance of U.S. self-imposed gold-backed dollar standard enfeebles what could be a sound measure of currency on its own. Russian agression, no longer imminent, still is the focal point of organization. Solutions may be to revamp NATO or start over, but, more likely, NATO will disband, and the dollar will cease to fill the void of an effective international monetary unit. In the confusion, Western European sympathies will shift eastward. (Abstract supplied)

1689
MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: THE FACTS VS. THE FICTIONS. U.S. news & world report, v. 66, Apr. 21, 1969: 60-63.
JK1. U65, v. 66

Examines the current controversy over the "military-industrial complex." Statistics on defense spending and contracting are given, along with a sampling of opinions from defense officials, business executives, and critics.

1690
Proxmire, William. BLANK CHECK FOR THE MILITARY; THE NEED FOR CONTROL. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, Apr. 15, 1969: 400-405.
PN6121. V52, v. 35
"Delivered before the United States Senate, Washington, D.C., March 10, 1969."

Deplores the loss of control over military spending and summarizes specific measures to aid in controlling the military budget if put into effect immediately. Senator Proxmire maintains that U.S. security could be increased "by spending smaller amounts, but spending them more effectively."

1691
REEMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES OF DEFENSE WORKERS: A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BOEING, MARTIN, AND REPUBLIC LAYOFFS. Prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, by Leslie Fishman [and others] Washington, For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968 [i.e. 1969] 236 p. illus.
HC110. D4R43
Based upon results of separate surveys issued as ACDA publications 29, 35, and 36, respectively.
Study conducted under contract ACDA/E-113.

Partial contents. --Preface. --Summary of findings. --Introduction, by Leslie Fishman. --The setting of the surveys, by Leslie Fishman and Curt Eaton. --Preparation of the data, by Leslie Fishman and Byron Bunger. --Correlation analysis and REEP, by Leslie Fishman and Curt Eaton. --Multiple regression analysis, by Leslie Fishman, Curt Eaton, Byron Bunger, and Jay Allen. --The Boeing, Martin, and Republic groups' experiences compared, by Curt Eaton and Jay Allen. --Mobility analysis, by Jay Allen and Curt Eaton. --Accepted salary analysis, by Byron Bunger. --An analysis of reemployment as a probability process: Markov chains, by Curt Eaton. --Conclusions, by Leslie Fishman.

Undertakes to "compare, integrate and analyze the results of four surveys conducted in 1964 and 1965 of the reemployment experiences of workers laid off at . . . three defense plants" --Boeing Company (Seattle), Martin Company (Denver), and Republic Aviation Company (Long Island). The study concludes that "the quality of the information channels available to the unemployed worker" is a more important determinant of reemployment experience than traditional variables such as age, education, and skill.

1692
Russett, Bruce M. WHO PAYS FOR DEFENSE? American political science review, v. 63, June 1969: 412-426.
JA1. A6, v. 63

Examines the effect of defense expenditures on public and private expenditures to determine "what segments of the economy and society sacrifice disproportionately when defense spending rises." Russett analyzes data for the United States over the 1939-1968 period and compares it with that for a shorter time span of several other developed Western states. He concludes that World War II and the Korean War severely hampered America's efforts "to build a healthier and better-educated citizenry," that significant costs from the Vietnam War can be anticipated, and that perhaps future defense costs "can be borne in such a way as better to protect the nation's future."

1693
Sokolov, Petr V., ed. MILITARY-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN A POLITICAL ECONOMY COURSE--USSR. [Washington] Joint Publications Research Service, 1969. 263 p. (JPRS 47,283)
AS36. U57, no. 47,283
Translation of his Voenno-ekonomicheskie voprosy v kurse politekonomii, Moskva, Voenizdat, 1968.
UA17. V63

Partial contents. --Political economy and military-economic science. --Military production as a commodity. --The production and distribution of surplus value in a militarized economy. --The effect of the militarization of the economy on national income and on the reproduction of social capital. --The intensive militarization of the economy during the era of imperialism. --Militarism and the crisis of world capitalism. --Economic support for the nation's defense capability in the transition period from capitalism to socialism. --The effect exerted by Socialist production relations on the strengthening of the economic defense base. --The use of commodity-monetary relations to strengthen the defensive capability of a Socialist state. --Extended Socialist reproduction--the material base for strengthening the nation's economic and defensive might. --The significance of the collaboration of Socialist nations in the field of defense. --The campaign for the effective use of military-economic resources. --Bibliography.

Contends that imperialist efforts to achieve military-technical superiority over the Soviet Union through an intensification of the arms race will fail because of the West's underestimation of Soviet economic potential, its overestimation of its own economic potential, and its ignorance of the fact that certain methods for the improvement of military-economic activity are not a capitalist monopoly. The optimal distribution of government resources for military and civilian purposes is an extremely difficult problem in capitalist countries.

1694
U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Economics Bureau. WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND RELATED DATA: CALENDAR YEAR 1966 AND SUMMARY TRENDS, 1962-1967. Washington [for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969] 24 p. (Its Research report 68-52)
P&GP RR

Partial contents. --Highlights of the data. --Definitions of terms. --Statistical tables.

Third annual Agency survey covers military spending by 120 countries in 1966 and estimates regional and global spending in 1967. The survey compares the trends of military outlays of the world, of developed countries, and of less developed countries with the GNP in each group and relates world military expenditures to other public expenditures. The appendix contains notes on data, sources, and methods of comparison. Global military spending increased sharply in 1966 and 1967 with nearly nine-tenths of the rise attributed to NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

1695
THE USURY OF WAR. Nation, v. 208, May 26, 1969: 656-663. AP2. N2, v. 208

Contents. --Phoenix of obsolescence, by Richard F. Kaufman. --Vietnam: the 200-year mortgage, by James L. Clayton.

Examines several aspects of defense costs. Kaufmann argues that military expenditures are excessive and should be reduced but admits that a rational attack upon the defense budget is difficult because the eventual costs of weapons systems are unknown. Clayton deplores the expenditures on the Vietnam War, which, he anticipates, "will eventually cost about 150 per cent of its original cost."

1696
Vilmar, Fritz. [ARMAMENT AND DISARMAMENT IN THE LATE STAGE OF CAPITALISM; POSTSCRIPTS 1969] Rüstung und Abrüstung im Spätkapitalismus; Nachträge 1969. WH. Werkhefte, v. 23, May 1969: 125-148. BX803. W2, v. 23

Addenda to his book Rüstung und Abrüstung im Spätkapitalismus. Materialien und Analysen (1965), annotated as item 920 in v. 3, no. 2, of this bibliography.

Analyzes data from various sources on the military expenditures of the world, of military blocs, and of several selected states, including the United States, the German Federal Republic, and the Soviet Union. Vilmar considers the West German armaments program irrelevant to the nation's security interests.

1697
Vilmar, Fritz. [NO MISERY, BUT PROSPERITY THROUGH ARMAMENTS; ABOUT THE DIFFICULTY OF A CRITICISM OF CAPITALIST ARMAMENTS EXPENDITURES] Nicht Elend, Wohlstand durch Rüstung; über die Schwierigkeit einer Kritik kapitalistischer Rüstungsausgaben. WH. Werkhefte, v. 23, Mar. 1969: 58-60. BX803. W2, v. 23

Dismisses as anachronistic traditional arguments that deficit defense spending in a capitalist system has adverse long-range effects on national wealth and prosperity. Vilmar points to the United States as an example of a state where prolonged spending of this sort appears to contribute to the people's prosperity and where all segments of the population, including trade unions, have accepted an economy of planned waste as beneficial for the Nation's economic growth. He underlines, however, that the increase of national wealth attributable to defense spending is merely nominal and that the theory of a planned-waste economy cannot be considered impeccably sane.

1698
Zimmermann, Friedrich. [THE ARMAMENT POLICY AND DEFENSE ECONOMY] Rüstungspolitik und Verteidigungswirtschaft. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 13, Jan. 15, 1969: 19-24.
U3. W38, v. 13
Summaries in English and French.

Postulates a greater share for the West German defense industry in government defense contracts. Procurement of military hardware mainly from foreign producers is in the long run disadvantageous for the nation's economy and technological progress.

3. Ethical and Social

1699
Andreas, Carol R. WAR TOYS AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT. Journal of social issues, v. 25, Jan. 1969: 83-99. HN51. J6, v. 25

Using a "natural history" technique, a war toy craze is documented which began in the United States in 1962 and spread its influence well beyond national boundaries. The craze appears to have been consciously stimulated by military and business interests who were aided by direct access to children through the medium of television. It was consciously opposed by pacifist-oriented organizations and individuals, utilizing educational media combined with mild pressure techniques. Both the war toy craze and the anti-war-toy movement have apparently influenced cultural values in America, with available evidence indicating a preponderant influence by the latter. (Abstract supplied)

1700
A CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES; THE CASE FOR SELECTIVE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION. Edited by James Finn. New York, Pegasus [1968] 287 p.
UB342. U5C6
Includes bibliographies.

Contents. --Introduction, by James Finn. --War and conscience, by John Courtney Murray, S. J. --Selective conscientious objection: warrants and reservations, by Paul Ramsey. --War and the Jewish tradition, by Everett E. Gendler. --Dissent: the tradition and its implications, by Mulford Q. Sibley. --The Nuremberg principles, by William V. O'Brien. --Selective conscientious objection and political obligation, by Quentin L. Quade. --Politics, morality, and selective dissent, by Michael Harrington. --The Selective Service System: actualities and alternatives, by Arnold S. Kaufman. --Conscientious objection and moral agency, by Jerome M. Segal. --Appendix.

Examines American religious, political, and legal traditions for their relevance to the principle of selective conscientious objection and presents arguments for and against its enactment into law. As Finn states in the introduction, "most of the contributors to this volume are intent less on making an argument for the controverted principle--although a few do--than on considering the politico-moral framework within which it should be discussed."

1701
Frank, Jerome D. SANITY AND SURVIVAL; PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF WAR AND PEACE. New York, Random House [1967] 330 p.
JX1255. F7

Contents. --Preface, by J. William Fulbright. --Introduction. --The new predicament; genocidal weapons. --No more war?--Why men kill; biological roots. --Unintentional or unauthorized destructiveness. --Why men fight; psychosocial determinants. --Why nations fight. --The image of the enemy. --Preparation for nuclear war; the nuclear arms race, deterrence, and civil defense. --Psychological aspects of prewar crises and war. --Psychological aspects of disarmament and international negotiations. --Toward a world community. --Conflict without violence. --Epilogue: the problem in perspective.--References. --Index.

Discusses the psychological factors that determine individual and group attitudes towards war and peace. Proceeding from the premise that "the only hope for the survival of civilization lies in the eventual elimination of war," Frank argues that radical changes in man's environment necessitate new methods of reducing and channeling violent tendencies and cultivating attitudes that favor the development of a world community.

1702
Fulbright, James William. DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY. Congressional record [daily ed.] 91st Congress, 1st session, v. 115, May 20, 1969: S5394-S5395. J11. R5, v. 115

Text of a speech delivered May 19, 1969, at the National War College; inserted into the Record by Senator Mike Mansfield.

"The fault in [American] war policy lies not with [the military] but with the political decisions which committed them to an impossible task." The task is impossible not because the United States lacks the military capability "but because it is beyond any military means that we have been morally and politically willing to employ." Militarism, not the military per se, is bringing about the slow erosion of democratic procedures and values and preparing the way for an authoritarian government. As Tocqueville has pointed out, war may not inevitably transform a democratic society into a despotic one, but "it leads men gently in that direction by their habits." The United States, which has been engaged in war or preparation for war for the past three decades, is proving the truth of Tocqueville's insight. Many have claimed that the United States has the economic, political, and moral resources to continue its activities abroad as well as fulfill its domestic needs, but the fact is that domestic needs are not being met. The enormity of defense spending has created its own constituency, which has a vested interest in perpetuating the demand for its services. "Quite as inevitably as if its were deliberate, our imperial role in the world has generated a trend toward authoritarian government." Both executive usurpation and congressional inactivity have contributed to the present constitutional imbalance, "but most of all it has been the result of chronic warfare and crisis." Traditional American values, which emphasize the necessity for placing restraints on the exercise of power, are inconsistent with the present interventionist policies of the United States. To overcome this incongruity America can either try to adapt "to a new role as the world's nuclear vigilante" or try to adapt its power to "traditional values, never allowing it to become more than a means toward domestic, societal ends, while seeking every opportunity to discipline it within an international community. . . . The real question is: which represents the more promising approach to security in its broader dimensions?"

1703
Gottlieb, Sanford. THE REVOLT AGAINST MILITARISM. Dissent, v. 16, July/Aug. 1969: 291-293.
HX1. 58, v. 16

Congressional revolt against the military began with the Vietnam War and has increased since President Nixon's Safeguard decision, but it faces formidable obstacles in the "military-industrial-labor--union-congressional-academic complex." However, a society plagued by race war and generation conflict has only one alternative: to apply its resources to the improvement of life at home. This alternative will gain support in the immediate future because of America's agonizing domestic problems. The military will not, however, surrender its claims to funds; it already intends to absorb the "peace dividend" once the war is ended. The struggle over resources "could last a decade and largely shape the future of the country. It will be quite a brawl."

1704
Moebius, Erich. [PSYCHOLOGICAL ARMAMENTS IN THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES] Psychologische Rüstung in den sowjetischen Streitkräften. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Mar. 1969: 141-143.
U3. W396, v. 18

Points to Soviet defense research in the military exploitation of panic and to the methodology of the Soviet Armed Forces in building up the resistance of troops to panic. The most characteristic feature of that methodology is the emphasis on hatred of the enemy not only as a group but also as individuals.

1705
Moore, Raymond A. THE PAKISTAN ARMY AND NATIONBUILDING. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 49, June 1969: 35-44. illus.
Z6723. U35, v. 49

In Pakistan, where social discipline and organization are rudimentary, the military establishment plays a major role in the struggle for modernization. In contrast to the armies of most other African and Asian states, the Pakistani Army is nonrevolutionary and nonpolitical, and this has proved to be a distinct advantage in development work. The army performs important services in medicine, agriculture, and civil

engineering, but it makes its most significant contribution to Pakistan's future by being a source of trained and educated manpower. The training and discipline that are intrinsic to the military profession are passed on to the civilian economy whenever soldiers are separated from the army; training programs set up to teach discharged soldiers civilian trades add further to the skilled manpower pool. The army has also promoted national growth by granting land in sparsely settled areas to discharged soldiers and by investing military welfare and rehabilitation funds in new industries. These programs "constitute nationbuilding of a high order," and the armies of other developing countries would do well to emulate them.

1706
Needler, Martin C. THE LATIN AMERICAN MILITARY: PREDATORY REACTIONARIES OR MODERNIZING PATRIOTS? Journal of inter-American studies, v. 11, Apr. 1969: 237-244.
F1401.J68, v. 11

There are two schools of thought on the causes and consequences of military intervention in Latin American politics. According to the "traditionalist" school, the military intervenes to protect its own interests, and the almost universal result is retardation of the development process. According to the "revisionist" school, the military intervenes more from necessity than from choice and is the continent's best hope for social progress and modernization. On the issue of cause, both sides are partly right. The military steps in when it feels itself compelled to do so to protect the national interest, but it usually conceives of that interest as including the well-being and preservation of the military. The traditionalists have the better argument on the matter of consequences. It is true that many military leaders are concerned with promoting modernization, but for a number of reasons they rarely have a chance to do anything worthwhile. Whatever its intentions, the military, when it intervenes in politics, is " 'objectively' acting as a tool of the oligarchic forces in society" and "delaying the country's attainment of political maturity."

1707
Potter, Ralph B. WAR AND MORAL DISCOURSE. Richmond, John Knox Press [1969] 123 p.
BT736.2.P63

Contents. --Temptations to "relevance."--The complexity of policy recommendations. --Uses and abuses of moral discourse. --"Illegal, immoral, and unjust." --When is a war "unjust"?--Christian attitudes toward war and peace. --Christian participation in an international police force. --Continuing moral dilemmas. --An anticipated recapitulation. --Notes. --Bibliographical essay.

Analyzes the terms commonly used in discussions on the morality of war and examines three prominent Christian doctrines concerning war--pacifism, the just war, and the holy crusade. Potter seeks to elevate the level of discourse on the subject of morality and war to provide a better framework for making policy decisions. The bibliographical essay reviews the major literature on the morality of war.

1708
Ramsey, Paul. THE JUST WAR; FORCE AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY. New York, Scribner [1968] xxi, 554 p. U21.2.R33
Bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents. --pt. 1. Political ethics: The uses of power. The ethics of intervention. Selective conscientious objection. --pt. 2. The morality of war: Justice in war. The Hatfields and the Coys. Turn toward just war. The limits of nuclear war. --pt. 3. The morality of deterrence: A brief preface to the morality of deterrence. Again, the justice of deterrence. --pt. 4. The second Vatican Council and a just-war theory of statecraft: The Vatican Council on modern war. --pt. 5. Vietnam and insurgency warfare: Incapacitating gases. Farewell to Christian realism. Vietnam; dissent from dissent. Is Vietnam a just war? Counting the costs.

Examines the morality of the use of power and advocates the responsible use of force to maintain justice and order in the international community. Ramsey seeks to define the concepts of just and unjust war and draws on Roman Catholic statements on war in "Pacem in terris" and in the documents of Vatican II to aid his pursuit of definitions. He believes that, when these concepts are truly defined, war can again be enclosed within the political purpose of a nation.

1709
Sartre, Jean Paul. ON GENOCIDE. AND A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE AND THE JUDGMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL, BY ARLETTE EL KAÏM-SARTRE. Boston, Beacon Press [1968] 85 p. DS557.A67S313

Asserts that the United States is guilty of the crime of genocide in Vietnam. El Kaïm-Sartre summarizes the evidence collected and the conclusions reached by the "International War Crimes Tribunal," and Sartre adds a lengthy analysis of the concept of genocide and of the reasons for its applicability to American actions in Vietnam.

1710
SCIENCE AND SOCIAL CONTROLS. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 25, May 1969: 21-36.
TK9145.A84, v. 25

Partial contents. --Berkeley: manipulators of science--winners and losers, by Charles Schwartz. The ever-widening gap, by P. M. S. Blackett. The social control of science, by Lee A. DuBridge. America's my home, not my business, by George Wald. --Cambridge: March 4, the movement and M.I.T., by Roger Salloch.

Discusses various manifestations of "the rising concern among university scientists about the exploitation of science and technology for purely military uses." Launched at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in March 1969, this movement of "moral protest" against the use of applied science to devise ever-more-powerful weapons of mass destruction hopes to discover ways of diverting the applications of science "from military goals to the problems of mankind: poverty, famine and environmental pollution."

1711
Sherrill, Robert. MUST THE CITIZEN GIVE UP HIS CIVIL LIBERTIES WHEN HE JOINS THE ARMY? New York times magazine, May 18, 1969: 25-27, 120-125, 128. illus.
AP.N6575, 1969

Examines the controversy over the question of civil rights for members of the Armed Forces. Sherrill believes that, as a result of the confrontation between dissenters from traditional military discipline and the defense establishment, "either the military will emerge more nearly as 'an enclave beyond the reach of the civilian courts' . . . or the Constitution will be pressed down so heavily on the military system that the old ideal of a 'citizens' army'--complete with all the safeguards of the Bill of Rights--will be considerably closer to achievement."

1712
Todd, Richard. THE 'INS' AND 'OUTS' AT M.I.T. New York times magazine, May 18, 1969: 32-33, 63-64, 66, 68, 70, 73, 76, 83-84, 91, 93-94. illus.
AP2.N6575, 1969

Reports on the dispute at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology over the conduct of war-related research at the university and the more general question of the social uses of science and technology. Todd supplies a sampling of opinions from both sides in the controversy, which rapidly became a verbal confrontation between "insiders," who do research and consultive work for the Defense Department, and "outsiders," who do not.

1713
Walsh, John. CONFRONTATION AT STANFORD: EXIT CLASSIFIED RESEARCH. Science, v. 164, May 2, 1969: 534-537.
Q1.S35, v. 164

The confrontation at Stanford University, which was precipitated by the issue of military research under the university's auspices, resulted in a decision by the university "to phase out most of the classified work on campus and a faculty move to overhaul guidelines and review machinery in a way that would bar almost all military research from the Stanford campus." The occupation of the university's applied electronics laboratory was marked by civility on both sides and a generally incisive criticism by the radical students. Wolfgang Panofsky, a faculty member who supported some student demands, suggested three rule changes: (1) the university should exercise control over research done under its auspices without prescribing the activities of individual members of the university; (2) the university "should not sponsor research whose output is classified"; (3) individuals who choose to do so should have the privilege of securing classified information. In explanation of this last point Panofsky recalled his recent meeting with Senator Fulbright and emphasized the need to know what the "establishment" is doing in order to criticize constructively.

1714
Weizsäcker, Carl F., Freiherr von. [THE ETHICAL PROBLEM OF MODERN STRATEGY] Das ethische Problem der modernen Strategie. Europa-Archiv, v. 24, Mar. 25, 1969: 183-198.
D839.E86, v. 24
Lecture delivered in September 1968 in Oxford at the annual meeting of the Institute for Strategic Studies.
English text in London. Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi papers, no. 55.
U162.A3, no. 46

Beaufre understands strategy as the "dialectic of two wills or the art of forcing [one's own] will on someone else." Assuming that there is an immutable antagonism of wills, the ethical problems of modern strategy are reduced to the question of the admissibility of means to be used for the removal of resistance. The answer is left then to the irrational voluntarism of political expediency, for it is a historical fact that "all weapons proved to be decisive in war have finally been accepted." An effective international ban such as in the Hague or Geneva conventions has been applied only to means of secondary importance. To be sure, it has moderated the atrocity of war, but by inevitably resorting to classical casuistry it has offered no clear ethical criterion for the selection of means. Today's conferences on the admissibility of nuclear weapons suffer from the same shortcoming. The inadmissibility of means leads us nowhere if it is determined by classical ethics of strategy--conditional ethical imperatives laid down under the assumption of the immutable antagonism of wills. An opposite assumption, which stresses the possibility of a reconciliation of wills, may pave the way to the answer. In fact, such an assumption underlies some current strategy concepts that focus on peace. The problem is really in goals not in means. A "leading imperative" resembling Kant's categorical imperative could enable us to discriminate between admissible and inadmissible goals in each given situation. Since it is far from certain that nuclear war will never take place or that it will have only a limited effect, the establishment of permanent peace would be such a logical imperative, especially since popular world sentiment is for viable peace. The imperative would make us recognize whether a maxim ruling our political action in each case is of the kind that would be untenable if it became generalized--viz, if it became a general principle of law. A prerequisite of such a peace is a stable political structure despite changing technology. Since it would be impossible to eliminate conflicts in the world, the task should be the elimination of "a certain form of their expression--namely, the organized war of large groups." As a category not a goal, the idea of a world state and the economic and social development of the Third World may prove helpful for the establishment of such a peace, but that still does not answer the crucial question of how to establish such a peace. The author does not pretend to know the answer; it may eventually be found by the truly imaginative efforts of others.

1715
Zubko, M. PROVOCATION AT DAWN. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, May 14, 1969: 17.
D839.C87, v. 21
Translated from Izvestiia, Apr. 23, 1969.
Slav Rm

Asserts that NATO is the cause of a military psychosis in Europe owing to its plans to accelerate the arms race. Zubko cites foreign newspaper reports that describe NATO maneuvers in the Mediterranean as "a real provocation" and concludes that little faith can be placed in Western politicians' assurances about the desire to use the alliance as an instrument for achieving détente.

4. Other

1716
THE ABM. Peace press, v. 5, Apr. 1969: 1-14.
P&GP RR

Decries the decision to deploy the Safeguard antiballistic missile system. The technical defects, stra-

tegic dysfunctionality, and enormous costs of the system are described, and the nature of the political pressures that forced the "tragic" decision upon the United States is analyzed.

1717
[THE ABM DEBATE] Air Force and space digest, v. 52, June 1969: 61-74. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 52

Contents.--The ABM: voices for and against, by Claude Witze.--We can't afford a Pearl Harbor in the space age, by Frederick Seitz.--ABM: a prudent response to a continuing threat, by Albert Wohlstetter.--In the ABM debate, who are the real hawks? by Henry M. Jackson.--Penetrating the ABM labyrinth, by Anne M. Jonas.

Defends the ABM against its critics. Witze focuses on the credentials of several of the major participants in the debate--Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Jerome Wiesner, Abram Chayes, Wolfgang Panofsky, Herbert York, and George Rathjens, who are opposed; and Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, Senator Henry M. Jackson, Albert Wohlstetter, Frederick Seitz, Paul Nitze, and William G. McMillan, who are in favor. The articles by Seitz, Wohlstetter, and Senator Jackson are prepared statements for hearings on the ABM by the Senate Armed Services Committee. Seitz emphasizes that peace must be based on strength; Wohlstetter argues that the ABM is necessary to ensure an effective second-strike capability; and Senator Jackson remarks on the irony of opposing the ABM, a defensive weapons system, in favor of reliance on more potent offensive weapons. Jonas argues for a vital role for the intelligence community in decisions affecting national security, notes the long leadtime required to develop the ABM, and underlines the importance of recognizing that the primary function of a strategic deterrent is to lend credibility to foreign policy.

1718
ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE: YES OR NO? [For: Donald G. Brennan and Leon W. Johnson. Against: Jerome B. Wiesner and George S. McGovern] Introd. by Hubert H. Humphrey. Epilogue by William O. Douglas. New York, Hill and Wang [1969, c1968] xxix, 147 p.
UG633.A727

"A special report from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions."

Partial contents.--Preface, by Donald McDonald.--Introduction: The state of the question, by Hubert H. Humphrey.--The case against the ABM, by Jerome B. Wiesner and George S. McGovern.--The case for the ABM, by Donald G. Brennan and Leon W. Johnson.--The colloquy, by Harry S. Ashmore [and others].--Epilogue: Why not try the rule of law?, by William O. Douglas.--Appendixes.--Biographical notes.

A distillation of the discussions and position papers from two meetings on the ABM held in New York and attended by associates of the center and others in November 1968.

1719
Binder, L. James. TRULY, A WEAPON FOR ALL SEASONS. Army, v. 19, May 1969: 16-23. illus.
Ul.A893, v. 19

The Safeguard system should be deployed. Unfortunately it "could become a casualty of the movement to disarm at any cost," which is especially alarming considering the recent developments in Soviet weaponry, the increased buildup of the Soviet nuclear fleet, and Red China's development of an ICBM capability. Facts seem to refute arguments that the Safeguard "would provoke the Russians into escalating the nuclear race further or sour them on coming to an agreement on arms control"; instead, the Safeguard, by demonstrating U.S. determination to protect its deterrent force, will probably enhance the prospects for successful arms control talks. The argument that the Safeguard will not work is misleading; too often scientific objections are merely "a denunciation of the strategic advisability of building an ABM system." Arguments that the Safeguard is economically unfeasible and that gradual deployment is merely a ploy to expand the Safeguard into something like the Sentinel is debatable; the U.S. economy can support both the ABM system and domestic reforms, and gradual deployment is sensible because many of the initial bugs in the system can be worked out before construction is too far along. While it is easy to understand "the anxiety of those who . . . earnestly want the arms control talks to succeed and for the world to be at peace," the United States "cannot predicate . . . security decisions that have to be made now on the potential success of future endeavors." The Safeguard must be deployed to maintain the peace.

1720
Bosch, Juan, Pres. Dominican Republic. PENTAGONISM, A SUBSTITUTE FOR IMPERIALISM. Translated by Helen R. Lane. New York, Grove Press [1968] 141 p.
UA23.B7213
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Preface.--What is pentagonism?--The birth of pentagonism.--The expansion of pentagonism.--Pentagonized society.--Politics and pentagonism.--Doctrine and morals of pentagonism.--Pentagonism and Latin America.--Pentagonism on the march toward total power.--Appendix 1.--Appendix 2.

Contends that the military establishment in the United States has achieved a position of dominance and has replaced traditional imperialism with a new form--pentagonism--in which the mass of citizenry in the mother country is the primary object of exploitation. Bosch claims that the military wages war not to subdue foreign populations but "to conquer positions of power in the pentagonist country." In his view the United States is no longer the society of free individuals it purports to be but a mass society in which the latent tendencies toward militarism have finally come to the fore.

1721
Boucher, Gary, Alan Ryall, and Austin E. Jones. EARTHQUAKES ASSOCIATED WITH UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. Journal of geophysical research, v. 74, July 15, 1969: 3808-3820. illus.
QC811.J6, v. 74

The results of a search of records of the University of Nevada seismographic station network for grossly observable effects of underground nuclear tests on regional seismicity are presented. Most of the data were obtained at the Tonopah station, 100-150 km from the explosions studied. Periods of time before and after 21 explosions were examined. In all cases of explosions with magnitude $m_b \geq 5.0$, an increase in seismicity was observed for at least one day following

the test. The decay of post-shot activity and its relationships to the equivalent magnitude of the explosion provide confirmation of the determinative role of the nuclear event. For the most part, this activity was confined to the test site, and was probably located within 20 km of the shotpoint. In one case, however, earthquake activity following the Faultless test in January 1968 may have extended to 40 km from the site of the explosion. One or two of the earlier tests studied may have influenced seismicity at larger distances. Most of the events studied had very small magnitudes, and all earthquakes related to underground tests had magnitudes lower, by at least one magnitude unit, than those of associated blasts. Attempts to determine the extent to which underground tests influence seismicity in active areas distant from the test site have indicated that, if such effects exist, they are probably minor compared with normal variations in seismicity. (Abstract supplied)

1722
Coffey, Joseph I. SOVIET ABM POLICY; THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WEST. International affairs (London) v. 45, Apr. 1969: 205-222.
JX1.I53, v. 45

A Soviet ABM system might encourage Soviet leaders to believe they could apply heavier political pressures in Berlin or the Middle East and could inhibit the United States from standing firm during a confrontation or crisis. In addition, it could render more credible Soviet guarantees to India and East Germany, reinforce the image of Russia as a technically advanced power, and bring Russia closer to its long-sought-after goal of "equality" with the United States. These reasons make an effective argument for a comprehensive Soviet ABM system--one that would cover Eastern Europe as well as Russia--but they do not emphasize the enormous costs and the additional demands on major industrial facilities that such a system would entail. The Soviet Union might deploy an ABM system to defend its air bases and missile sites and increase its second-strike capability. However, such a step would not impair U.S. assured-destruction capabilities because of the introduction of the multiple independent reentry vehicle (MIRV) into America's strategic offensive arsenal. Another alternative for Soviet ABM deployment might be to protect western Russia from attack by present and future NATO forces. However, it would hardly alter the East-West balance because the United States could destroy these area defenses or attack targets deeper in the Soviet Union. Efforts should be concentrated on inducing the Soviet Union to avoid those kinds of deployment that would threaten the United States the most and on inhibiting the future growth of Soviet strategic offensive forces--the United States could negotiate reductions on MIRV's and ICBM's rather than on Soviet ABM's. Unfortunately, the Soviet ABM will probably stimulate an arms race between the superpowers and make an arms limitation agreement more difficult to reach, and the prospective growth of Chinese nuclear forces adversely affects the readiness of the superpowers to set limits to their strategic offensive and defensive forces.

1723
Eliot, George F. WHAT'S SO NEW ABOUT ANTI-MILITARISM? National Guardsman, v. 22, July 1969: 2-6. illus. UA42.N24, v. 22

American men have resisted fighting or going to war throughout U.S. history. Dissatisfaction with the Government's conduct of the American Civil War caused the 1863 draft riots in New York, and, although the Korean War did not arouse the intensity of opposition evidenced in the Vietnam War, it was far from popular. The President's ruling out any military solution to the Vietnam War has not helped the morale of the soldier or the average citizen, and, as long as the war is in a "fighting while negotiating" stage, discontent will spread throughout the country. However, when the war ends, the threat to America will be as great as ever because there will be a need "to develop a military establishment capable of deterring nuclear attack and of dealing with local contingencies such as Korea." After the war it will be important to maintain faith in the Armed Forces and to draw the active Army into a more intimate association with the citizenry so that the military will no longer be an object of suspicion among the young.

1724
Fulbright, James William. MILITARISM AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY; THE COMPLEX. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, May 15, 1969: 455-460.
PN6121.V52, v. 35
"Delivered as Owens-Corning Lecture, Denison University, Granville, Ohio, April 8, 1969."

Argues that outmoded attitudes still dominate America's behavior and credits this to "the difficulty people have in grasping the changes brought by the nuclear age" and the profitability of the arms race. Fulbright surveys the development of the military-industrial complex, maintains that democracy "is engaged in a holding action against the new militarism," and concludes that this holding action will continue until peace is ensured.

1725
GROWING COST OF CAMPUS ATTACKS ON ARMS RESEARCH. U.S. news & world report, v. 66, June 2, 1969: 37-38, 41. illus.
JK1.U65, v. 66

Assesses the impact of campus protest on defense-related university research. There is a serious danger that essential programs will be delayed or disrupted; a number of projects have already been terminated, and others face cancellation or curtailment in the near future. The Government can transfer much of this work to its own facilities or to private industry, but, since both of these have vested interests in defense policy, they are unable to sustain the same degree of objectivity as the universities. The loss of this detached viewpoint in defense research would be a serious setback for the nation.

1726
Harrigan, Anthony. THE ABM AND AMERICA'S ALLIES. In American Security Council. Washington report, May 5, 1969: 1-4. P&GP RR

Maintains that Soviet ABM deployment has changed the strategic military balance and argues that the United States must deploy an ABM system to reassure its allies of its determination to maintain a strategic superiority.

1727
Hunter, Robert E. THE ABM: PRESIDENT NIXON'S SAFEGUARD PROGRAMME. World today, v. 25, May 1969: 194-203. D410.W63, v. 25

President Nixon's argument for Safeguard deployment--protection of U.S. land-based retaliatory forces against a Russian attack--is valid because alternative methods of deterrence would be inadequate if the Russians were to attain a first-strike capability. However, "the difficulties lie in the politics of the matter"--especially the question of whether ABM deployment would hinder an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union. In this context the dangers of the Safeguard "lie not so much in the initial deployment . . . as in the development of attitudes about the Soviet Union that may go with it." For example, in attempting to sell the Safeguard to a reluctant Congress, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird imputed hostile intentions to the Russian deployment of the SS-9; such cold war rhetoric can only jeopardize the U.S.-Soviet détente and harm the prospect of arms limitation because arms control agreement can be reached only in a favorable political environment. Since the onset of mutual deterrence and the Cuban missile crisis scare, the superpowers have been cautious in nuclear matters; fortunately this mutual caution "will require repeated knocks to be destroyed." However, the pressures from the military-industrial complex to expand the Safeguard system have just begun, and the Pentagon has demonstrated an inadequate appreciation of the delicate relationship between nuclear-weapons policy and diplomacy. Viewed in this context, Safeguard ABM deployment promises to be more harmful than beneficial.

1728
Knoll, Erwin. ABM--ATOMIC BLACKMAIL. Progressive, v. 33, May 1969: 23-25.
AP2. P8655, v. 33

Argues against Safeguard deployment and emphasizes that both the Soviet Union and the United States have an amplitude of "overkill." Knoll interprets the Pentagon's frantic efforts to sell the ABM to a reluctant Senate as an attempt to achieve "absolute immunity from nuclear retaliation--a dream of effective atomic blackmail."

1729
Larus, Joel. NUCLEAR ACCIDENTS AND THE ABM. Saturday review, v. 52, May 31, 1969: 10-13.
Z1219. S25, v. 52

Reprinted in the Congressional Record, v. 115, June 5, 1969, p. S6015-S6017.
J11. R5, v. 115

An important argument against Safeguard deployment is the possibility of a nuclear accident. America's record of nuclear mishaps--"Broken Arrows"--leads to the conclusion that "the human mind has been unable to construct a safety system for nuclear weapons that is accident-free, no matter how much time, money, and technological genius are assigned to the project." Two types of nuclear mishaps could bring about accidental radioactivity: an unauthorized, unintentional nuclear explosion that results in a full-scale yield detonation or an accident that involves a ruptured bomb or missile "when unusual energy inputs or physical stresses react unfavorably with the TNT component of the weapon." The former is the more serious type of accident, but the probability of such an occurrence is very low; America's safety record has been perfect. However, two Broken Arrow incidents in 1960 and 1961 illustrate that the possibility of such an accident always exists. The second type of nuclear accident--a ruptured bomb--is the greater menace because it is much more probable than a full-scale chain reaction. The U.S. record with this type of accident is poor. American bombs or missiles--accidentally blown apart but not detonated--"have jeopardized the lives of residents of at least three countries, injured an unknown number of homes and factories, and contaminated the natural resources of at least three parts of the globe." Each failure exemplifies a radioactivity crisis--the scattering of undetonated plutonium. Thus, since "nuclear weapons have a propensity to become involved in human and mechanical error situations" and thereby contaminate the environment with toxic plutonium, ABM's should not be deployed. The Safeguard merely invites future accidents.

1730
Lipsky, Mortimer. A TIME FOR HYSTERIA; THE CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO DISARMAMENT. South Brunswick, A. S. Barnes [1969] 293 p.
JX1974. L565

Contents. --A time for hysteria. --The subject matter. --The great deterrent. --The computer takes over. --Oops, the bomb slipped. --The greatest menace. --The story of disarmament--pre-atomic era. --The story of disarmament--atomic era. --The why of disarmament negotiation. --Nevertheless, disarmament. --Disarmament by the people. --The story of inspection. --Inspection by the people. --From here to there. --Index.

Forecasts a nuclear holocaust and total destruction of the world unless disarmament is achieved. Lipsky fears that military technology will take over and decide mankind's fate and believes "mankind has been unbelievably lucky so far" in avoiding total war. He proposes several alternatives to war; the ultimate one is peace through general and complete disarmament.

1731
Martin, Laurence W. THE GREAT MISSILE DEFENSE DEBATE. Interplay, v. 3, June/July 1969: 39-41.
P&GP RR

The ABM debate in America points to only one clear and undisputed fact: Modern technology has not assured a safe and stable strategic balance. Thus, if strategic competition is to be restrained, the political will to apply restraints must be present; if this will is lacking, ABM deployment could start a vigorous arms race. When viewed in this context, President Nixon's Safeguard decision is a reasonable compromise: America's options are preserved at a debatable juncture. In fact, the Safeguard system ought to promote stability by complicating a preemptive attack on America. Moreover, the Safeguard will permit continued research and development "in the most comprehensive way, while avoiding becoming unduly locked into a premature system on a massive scale." While Nixon's Safeguard decision does not provide an answer to the debate, it is unlikely to provoke a violent Russian counteraction as ABM abolitionists argue or necessarily stimulate Russian enthusiasm for an arms limitation agreement as ABM advocates maintain. European worries arising from the debate are discerned in the broader political context. The debate "compels attention . . . to the fact that European security rests either on Soviet forbearance, which is an unacceptable basis, . . . or on the American nuclear deterrent" whose credibility is debatable. This flaw in European security becomes more conspicuous as the superpowers attempt to stabilize their "nuclear confrontation by direct methods divorced from the broader diplomatic

context of the two coalitions"; strategic stability and the threat of escalation as a method for extending American nuclear protection to others are incompatible. Under these circumstances, European concern as to how Soviet-American agreements would affect their interests is logical; the Europeans must take into consideration the large force of intermediate-range ballistic missiles that is targeted upon them, but which is not included in American arms control packages. The prospect of a greater nuclear role for Europe offers another reason for approaching strategic stability in the broadest political perspective.

1732
MISSILES AND ANTI-MISSILES . . . SIX VIEWS. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 25, June 1969: 20-28, 43. TK9145.A84, v. 25

Contents.--Foreign policy implications of the ABM debate, by J. W. Fulbright.--Is Safeguard worth the risk? by George W. Rathjens.--Hard point vs. city defense, by Hans A. Bethe.--Can the infants survive? by Ernest J. Sternglass.--A comment on Sternglass thesis, by Freeman J. Dyson.--The arms race and the fallacy of the last move, by Herbert F. York.

Arguments against deployment of the Safeguard ABM system. The familiar political and military arguments are presented along with a warning from Sternglass that existing data on the effects of fallout on infant and fetal mortality rates indicate the impossibility of protecting any significant portion of the human race from destruction in a large-scale nuclear war, even with a technically or militarily workable ABM system.

1733
Muskie, Edmund S. BLOCKING THE ABM. New republic, v. 160, June 7, 1969: 11-12. AP2.N624, v. 160

The Safeguard system should not be deployed: The administration's projections concerning Soviet ICBM capability are questionable, the system cannot be fully tested before use and its complex technology makes optimism about U.S. technological capacity unwarranted, and the arms race may escalate. Instead, U.S. policymakers should concentrate on renewed U.S.-Soviet arms talks. Fortunately, the ABM debate has given the administration an opportunity "to shift its attention and its efforts to the negotiating table before it is committed to an uncertain and dangerous course which appears certain to accelerate the arms race." Safeguard deployment threatens to create "a seething, crippled, fortress America"; emphasis on arms control promises to produce "a rational, creative and constructive society in which our intentions are clear and our capability for peaceful pursuits [is] unquestioned."

1734
Nelson, Richard R. THE TECHNOLOGY GAP: ANALYSIS AND APPRAISAL. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1967. 34 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3694-1) AS36.R28, no. 3694
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 66. AS36.R284, v. 6

An examination of the technological gap between the United States and Europe in the context of its historical perspective and postwar developments. The "gap" is not new but has existed since the nineteenth century. It has been erroneously viewed by some as a single phenomenon created by increased world trade, increased U.S. direct investment in Europe, growing U.S. power in science, and U.S. military dominance. Analysis shows that the military and general economic consequences of the gap are separable, and that the technological spillover from massive military R&D is negligible. Although universal education and large markets are important, competition is a most important factor in fostering overall technological progress. (Abstract supplied)

1735
NUCLEAR TESTS: THE PACIFIC. Peace press, v. 5, May 1969: 9-12. P&GP RR

Presents a New Zealand Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament protest against French plans to conduct a nuclear test series in the South Pacific this year. The tests are said to pose a serious threat to human and animal life and well-being. The French Government is accused of suppressing information on the tests and maintaining Polynesia in a covert colonial status for the purpose of using its watery expanse and enchanted isles for test sites.

1736
Resor, Stanley R. SAFEGUARD; THE A.B.M. DEBATE. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, July 1, 1969: 574-576. PN6121.V52, v. 35
"Delivered before Union League Club's Public Affairs Luncheon, New York City, New York, April 28, 1969."

Describes trends in the nuclear environment that require Safeguard deployment and refutes the main arguments of ABM opponents. Resor emphasizes that Safeguard is a step toward establishing a nuclear strategy based on defense.

1737
RIPON FORUM ON THE ABM. Congressional record [daily ed.] 91st Congress, 1st session, v. 115, June 12, 1969: S6333-S6340. J11.R5, v. 115

Contents.--ABM debate: prelude to a broader questioning.--Historic armed services hearings; "inner debate" narrows while issues begin to broaden, by Alton Frye.--ABM: the issues raised and the questions unanswered, by Jeremy J. Stone.

Contends that the Nixon administration committed itself prematurely to the ABM because it had not completed its strategic review and because the deployment of an ABM system and multiple independent reentry vehicles is likely to make an arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union very difficult. The only way to ensure U.S. survival is by cutting off the Soviet weapons buildup, which can be done only through negotiation. "It is far safer to negotiate this cut-off than to try to struggle against its effects with untested missile defenses."

1738
Strelnikov, B. NUCLEAR PIG IN A POKE. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 15, June 10, 1969: pt. 2, [item] 4, 1-5. Slav Rm
Translated from Izvestiia, June 9, 1969. Slav Rm

The deployment of a U.S. ABM system will escalate the arms race, divert vast sums of money from the critical social and economic problems in America, give added impetus to the demands of the military-industrial complex for a larger defense budget, and weaken America's position in future talks with the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic weapons. Resistance to deployment is advocated by some of the most distinguished members of the Senate and by respected scientists and writers. The Pentagon's chief reasons for ABM deployment are the "Soviet menace" and "red aggressiveness," which it is using to scare the American public "to fleece [it] for the war-industry complex." The Nixon administration has delayed any Soviet-American arms control talks on the ground that it needs time to study the question and the Soviet attitude. During this delay a new arms race is taking shape, while "at stake is not only a dangerous nuclear pig in a poke worth several [billion] dollars, but, in the final analysis, the USA's future."

1739
Tape, Gerald F. ATOMS FOR WAR AND PEACE. Ordnance, v. 53, May/June 1969: 578-582. illus.
UFl.O67, v. 53

Scans briefly efforts of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to advance the peaceful applications of nuclear energy and to develop its nuclear weapons program. Tape notes the importance of research in areas related to national security and affirms the AEC's determination to maintain a strong research program.

1740
UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS: U.S.A. Peace press, v. 5, May 1969: 1-9.
P&GP RR

Examines the U.S. underground nuclear test program. General problems relating to the conduct of these tests are discussed, including the issues raised by the venting of radioactive materials, by the use of decoupling procedures to prevent detection, and by the evidence that the tests are causing seismic damage and earthquakes.

1741
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. In its Annual report to Congress. 1968. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969: 195-202. illus.
HD9698.U5A33, 1968

Also issued separately as a pamphlet entitled "Plowshare Program During 1968."

Three nuclear cratering experiments were conducted in 1968 under the Plowshare program: Project Cabriolet, a 2.5-kiloton explosion to determine "the basic cratering effects of a nuclear explosion" at a given depth; Project Buggy, the first nuclear row-charge experiment in the United States; and Project Schooner, a 35-kiloton explosion that extended the data gained in Project Cabriolet. The Commission continued to explore the possibilities of using nuclear explosions in the construction of an interoceanic canal. Several experiments in nuclear underground engineering were conducted--among them Project Gasbuggy, the Rulison experiment, and the Dragon Trail experiment--as part of a program "to stimulate gas production; the recovery of oil from oil shale; the solution mining of low-grade copper ores; the creation of storage capacity for natural gas under pressure; and the capture of runoff precipitation from arid areas."

III. INSTITUTIONS AND MEANS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

A. INTERNATIONAL LAW

1742
WEST BERLIN PROBLEM--A SUMMARY [editorial] Democratic German report, v. 18, Mar. 12, 1969: 35-37. DD261.D3, v. 18

Considers West Berlin "an anomalous territory of undefined status" and explains the Soviet and East German position that it constitutes a political entity independent of the two German states. West Berlin's occupation status under the United States, Great Britain, and France is legally untenable and so is Bonn's claim that the city belongs to the German Federal Republic.

1743
Wettig, Gerhard. [GUIDING POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF POTSDAM AND THE ENEMY-STATE ARTICLE OF THE U.N. CHARTER IN THE CURRENT SOVIET POLICY ON GERMANY] Die politischen Leitsätze von Potsdam und die Feindstaatenartikel der UNO-Charta in der gegenwärtigen sowjetischen Deutschland-Politik. Osteuropa, v. 19, Mar. 1969: 173-186. DR1.O8, v. 19

Traces the development of the Soviet Union's German policy from 1945 until today and analyzes provisions of the Potsdam agreement and the United Nations Charter that Moscow claims give it a right to intervene in domestic affairs of the German Federal Republic. Wettig disproves the existence of such a right.

1744
Zadorozhnyi, Georgii Petrovich. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE: CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL LAW OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. [Translated from the Russian by Vic Schneierson] Moscow, Progress Publishers [1968] 400 p. JX1952.Z2513

Translation of Mirnoe sosushchestvovanie i mezhdunarodnoe pravo.
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Foreword.--The peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems.--The only sensible alternative to nuclear-missile war.--Peaceful coexistence upholds the sovereign rights of nations, the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all men.--Peaceful coexistence implies respect for the right of nations to self-determination.--Disarmament guarantees peaceful coexistence and international peace and order.--All-round international co-operation is peaceful coexistence in action.--International law and peaceful coexistence.--The principles of peaceful coexistence as embodied in international law.--The principles of peaceful coexistence and the doctrines of international law.--International law and the progress of mankind.--The Soviet Union's role in the progressive development of international law.--Index.

Expounds the Soviet concept of peaceful coexistence and its place in international law. Zadorozhnyi attempts to demonstrate "that peaceful coexistence is not merely an objective necessity and progressive political idea, not just a form of ideological struggle, but also a realistic international policy based on a system of universally recognized principles and standards of modern international law." He contends that peaceful coexistence has always been a basic principle of Soviet foreign policy and that, contrary to the views expressed by Mao Tse-tung, it continues to be a legitimate form of carrying on the class struggle against the increasingly aggressive and imperialist capitalist nations. All nations--capitalist and Socialist--are urged to join in efforts to being about general and complete disarmament to guarantee the establishment of peaceful coexistence as the basis of international peace and order.

B. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

1745
Forsythe, David P. UNITED NATIONS INTERVENTION IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS REVISITED: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS. International organization, v. 23, winter 1969: 115-139. JX1901.I55, v. 23

Reviews Mission in Palestine: 1948-1952 by Pablo de Azcárate y Florez, Prospects for Peacekeeping by Arthur M. Cox, Uncertain Mandate: Politics of the U.N. Congo Operation by Ernest W. Lefever, and World Order and Local Disorder: The United Nations and Internal Conflicts by Linda B. Miller and attempts to clarify certain concepts involved in an analysis of U.N. intervention in conflict situations and to establish an analytical framework in which the various roles and structures influencing the effectiveness of U.N. intervention can be understood. Forsythe concludes that, "given the continuation of regional disorder in locales such as the Middle East, observers of UN intervention . . . need . . . an adequate framework for analysis of the interventionary process" to implement an effective policy for maintaining international peace and security.

1746
Hudson, Richard. MOVING THE U.N. TOWARD UNIVERSALITY. War/peace report, v. 9, Feb. 1969: 11-13. illus. JX1901.W38, v. 9

The United Nations cannot claim to be "the world organization" as long as the world's most populous nation--China--is not a member and the divided nations of Germany, Korea, and Vietnam are excluded. The most promising means of bringing these nations into

the United Nations is a package deal similar to that worked out in 1955 when 16 new members were admitted. A hypothetical package deal would provide that each of the six sovereignties in Germany, Korea, and Vietnam be admitted; that the Peking government assume China's seat in the Security Council with Formosa taking a seat in the General Assembly; and that U. N. membership would not constitute recognition of a permanent division in these countries. The prospects for acceptance of the two Germanys depend on a prior European settlement. Both Washington and Peking have previously opposed the above proposal, but there are indications that changing attitudes may lead to at least passive acquiescence if not open support. The response of the two Koreas and Vietnams would probably hinge on China's reaction, and Vietnam poses an additional problem as long as two governments are competing for power in the south. The advantages to the world community of this expansion in membership are substantial. Not only would it provide an international meeting place for representatives of the divided nations but more importantly would bring the United Nations closer to universality and "provide a far more realistic base from which to build an organization that can effectively guarantee world peace."

1747
Kay, David A. THE IMPACT OF AFRICAN STATES ON THE UNITED NATIONS. International organization, v. 23, winter 1969: 20-47.
JX1901. I55, v. 23

Suggests that the entry of African states into the United Nations has altered that body's political processes. Kay focuses upon the nature of this entry, the areas in which these states have made demands upon the system, their impact on the U.N.'s constitutional structure and the handling of major issues, and the trends and implications of their role in the United Nations.

1748
Mendershausen, Horst. TRANSNATIONAL SOCIETY VS. STATE SOVEREIGNTY. Kyklos, v. 22, fasc. 2, 1969: 251-275. H1. A15, v. 22
Summaries in English, French, and German.

The elaborate fabric of a transnational society and the organization of political power in sovereign states provide a dual system of order and a source of disorder in the world. Each of the two elements tends to dissolve the other. History shows various models of harmonizing the conflict, but none has had lasting success. International catastrophes have been followed by a fresh growth of the two elements and of their vulnerability. Since World War II, the world has explored the organization of society and political power in two international camps, led by two great states--an unprecedented effort on that scale to consolidate the world situation. The decay of the effort in the 1960's releases forces that threaten national and international life with a war of all against all. Alternative models for world order show little promise as yet of checking this process of disintegration, and of reconciling the ambitions for change and for order. Competition among the models is overlaid with competition among states and movements. There is but a slender hope that communities and liberties will be preserved until some kind of civilized government is found for the transnational society. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1749
Schröder, Dieter. [GREAT POWERS, SPHERES OF INTERESTS, AND SMALL STATES] Grossmächte, Interessensphären, kleine Staaten. Moderne Welt, v. 10, no. 1, 1969: 54-65.
D839. M58, v. 10

Compares the "European concert" [of states], a traditional model of world peace and order, with the "world condominium," a modern model exemplified by the nuclear nonproliferation treaty that assumes the existence of a greater degree of rationality in the behavior of great powers than in that of small nations. Schröder contends that the theory of the latter model is lagging behind its development in practice.

1750
Thant, U. VIEW FROM THE BRIDGE. UN monthly chronicle, v. 6, May 1969: 58-64.
JX1977. A1U564, v. 6
Address delivered at a meeting of the United Nations Association of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, London, April 25, 1969.

"The main sources of tension in the world are" those arising from "the East-West problem, the North-South problem and the general problem of the relation between the strong and the weak." East-West relations have improved substantially since the United Nations was established as the great powers have cooperated on a broader range of problems. The most difficult issue now facing the world community is that of modernization in the developing countries. As for relations between the strong and the weak, member nations have shown a greater willingness to avail themselves of the United Nations as an intermediary--a bridge--in settling disputes. Further progress will require both structural changes in the United Nations--for example, establishing contact with the People's Republic of China--and changes in the attitudes of member states toward the United Nations and its institutions, including acceptance of an international civil service.

1751
TREATIES AND ALLIANCES OF THE WORLD; AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY COVERING TREATIES IN FORCE AND COMMUNITIES OF STATES. New York, Scribner [1968] 214 p. maps.
JX1995. T7

Partial contents. --Early international agreements and their later expansion. --World War II: treaties and agreements on territorial changes, frontiers, and other matters arising out of the war. --The United Nations. --Treaties and agreements on nuclear testing and cooperation in Antarctica and outer space. --Europe: steps towards integration among non-Communist states. --The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). --The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). --The Communist world. --The Commonwealth: the Colombo plan and the treaties of Great Britain. --The French Community (Communauté). --The Americas. --The Middle East. --Africa. --South and East Asia and the Pacific area. --The "Third World." --Index.

Gives the background, history, general purposes, and major provisions of the most important multilateral treaties and agreements in force at present. Membership lists, maps, and organization charts are also provided.

1752
Tung, Lin. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM [by] William L. Tung. New York, T. Y. Crowell Co. [1969] xvi, 415 p.
JX1977. T8

Contents. --pt. 1. Development, structure, and functions: The nature and development of international organization. The League of Nations. The establishment and objectives of the United Nations. Membership of the United Nations. The structure of the United Nations. Functions and powers of the United Nations. Sessions and voting procedures of the United Nations. --pt. 2. Accomplishments and limitations: Regulation of armaments. Self-determination and decolonization. Economic and social advancement. International protection of human rights. Settlement of international disputes. Enforcement action under international and regional agencies. Toward the rule of law. --pt. 3. Documentary sources: Guide to League of Nations and United Nations publications. Symbols of United Nations documents. Basic documents. --Bibliography. --Tables of cases. --Index. --Tables and illustrations.

Reviews the history of international organization and describes the nature, purpose, structure, and function of the United Nations.

1753
THE UNITED NATIONS--WHERE IT'S AT, WHERE IT'S GOING. War/peace report, v. 9, Feb. 1969: 3-11. illus. JX1901.W38, v. 9

Reviews the progress--or lack thereof--made by the United Nations thus far and urges that its serious failures should not blind one to its achievements. Among the topics discussed are the U.N.'s organization and decisionmaking capacity; its role in disarmament, peacekeeping, economic development, and population control; and its attempts to cope with crisis situations. It is noted that a crucial phase in disarmament talks is impending, centering on the expected U.S.-Soviet missile talks.

C. INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY FORCES

1754
Barnes, N. S. THE FRANKENSTEIN ARGUMENT AGAINST PEACEKEEPING. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 25, May 1969: 16-18. TK9145.A84, v. 25

According to the "Frankenstein" argument against peacekeeping forces, any international military organization powerful enough to maintain peace would be powerful enough to establish a global tyranny. Is this assertion valid? Ambiguous historical analogies are of no help; an answer can be found only by applying physical and psychological judgments to the hypothetical situation. Assume that the peacekeeping force is organized into mobile units, which are stationed at bases throughout the world; that it is composed of volunteers from the great majority of countries with none having a numerical preponderance; and that it is under the command of a multinational military staff committee, which, in turn, is subject to an international deliberative body. This force could not discharge its functions unless it possessed overwhelming physical power, from which it follows ineluctably that the force would possess the physical means to impose its rule. However, physical power alone is insufficient to establish a global tyranny. As constituted, the force would lack unity of purpose and motivation, without which the danger is reduced to zero, since a combination of internal and external opposition would frustrate any grab for power Like most other arguments against peacekeeping forces, this one comes down to the charge that such a force would be "impractical," but is it practical to leave "the fate of mankind at the mercy of national armaments controlled by competitive cliques"?

1755
Sheikh, Ahmed. CANADA'S SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS' PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS. Journal of Commonwealth political studies, v. 7, Mar. 1969: 58-65. JN248.J65, v. 7

Maintains that Canadian financial, political, and moral support of U.N. peacekeeping activities has contributed significantly to their success. Sheikh recapitulates various Canadian proposals to make the United Nations financially responsible, especially with regard to its peacekeeping operations, and notes that it was Canada's initiative that led to the establishment of the first effective U.N. police force in the wake of the Suez crisis of 1956.

1756
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommitte on International Organization Affairs. UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING. Hearings. Ninetieth Congress, second session, on S. Con. Res. 47, relative to the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping force. May 1 and 2, 1968. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968. 186 p. KF26.F658 1968

Includes the prepared statements of public officials and spokesmen for various private groups regarding a proposal to establish a United Nations peacekeeping force. Among the documents inserted for the record are the text of Senate Concurrent Resolution 47, relevant portions of the U.N. Charter, and correspondence from several organizations and individuals with a special interest in the proposed resolution.

1757
Young, Oran R. THE INTERMEDIARIES; THIRD PARTIES IN INTERNATIONAL CRISES. Princeton, N.J., Published for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University [by] Princeton University Press, 1967. 427 p. illus. JX1291.Y6
Bibliography: p. 401-420.

Partial contents. --pt. 1. Intervention and peacekeeping: International crises and third-party functions. Third-party tactics, an intervenor's repertory of practice. The identity of the third party. Three images of United Nations peacekeeping. --pt. 2. Applications: United Nations intervention in Soviet-American crises. A roster of superpower crises. Intervention by the Secretary-General and Secretariat, the mustering of capabilities. Intervention by the Secretary-General and Secretariat, the performance of instrumental activities. --pt. 3. Prospects for the future: The nature of change and the role of the third party. --Index.

Discusses the development of theory concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes and several concrete problems relating to U.N. peacekeeping operations. Several proposals concerning U.N. capabilities to act in the role of a third party in superpower crises are given because it appears that the United Nations will not be able to divorce itself entirely from these crises as a result of the rapidly changing international system. Young concludes that international crises and attempts to settle them peacefully will continue to be characteristic occurrences in future international political relationships.

D. OTHER PROCESSES, PLANS, AND PROPOSALS

1758
Avnery, Uri. ISRAEL WITHOUT ZIONISTS; A PLEA FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. New York, Macmillan [1968] 215 p.
DS119.7.A9, 1968

Contents.--Prologue: One Israeli. The war nobody wanted.--pt. 1. The vicious circle: Rudyard Kipling meets Tolstoy. Old Jews and young Turks. Crusaders and Zionists. David Green comes to Jaffa. 1954; a spy story. Moshe Dayan; lone wolf.--pt. 2. The breaking out: The mistake of Columbus. The establishment. The federation of Palestine. Samson's foxes and the refugees. Pax Semitica.

Reviews the history of Zionism and its influence on Israeli political and social life and proposes a basis for settling the conflict with the Arabs. Avnery argues that Israelis must recognize that they are above all else a Middle Eastern nation, not a Jewish state, and must develop "a positive attitude toward the national aspirations of the Arab peoples." For their part, the Arabs must accept Israel as a permanent part of the Middle East. As a step toward peace, he advocates the establishment of "an Arab republic of Palestine," which would be federated with Israel and would form a bridge between Israel and the rest of the Arab world. The author proposes an Israeli offer of repatriation or compensation to the Arab refugees and, as a long-term solution, the formation of a Semitic union embracing Hebrews, Arabs, and other Middle Eastern peoples.

1759
Baudissin, Georg, Graf von. [EUROPEAN SECURITY: CRITERIA AND REQUIREMENTS; A PROPOSAL OF CONCEPT CLARIFICATION] Europäische Sicherheit: Kriterien und Anforderungen; ein Vorschlag zur Begriffsklärung. Europa-Archiv, v. 24, Jan. 10, 1969: 13-20. D839.E86, v. 24

Considers the notion of European security to comprise military, psychological, and domestic security and security in the area of foreign policy. Baudissin analyzes each of these concepts and discusses their interdependence. He deems the clarification of those notions a prerequisite for productive discussion on the development of a viable peace and security system in Europe. Military considerations rule out an asymmetrical balance of power as a basis for such a system. Western Europe should continue its policy of détente toward Eastern Europe, despite all the disappointments this policy has encountered so far.

1760
Boulding, Kenneth E. SOCIAL SYSTEMS ANALYSIS AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. In London. Institute for Strategic Studies. Problems of modern strategy. pt. 1. London, 1969. (Adelphi papers, no. 54) p. 33-40.
U162.A3, no. 54

The "new look" in the study of international relations that has developed in the last generation springs from two sources: dissatisfaction with the historical, intuitive approach to international relations, which has led to the adoption of the theory and methods of the social sciences--the social systems approach; and dissatisfaction with the international system itself, which has given rise to criticism based on explicit normative principles--the peace research movement. "The basic criticism of the literary and historical approach to a study of the international system is that it is subject to precisely the same epistemological diseases which afflict the system itself since, [sic] it does not lead into any radical criticism of the system or to the development of new models and new information." This suggests the need for a more complex methodology capable of greater precision and hence verification. The peace movement has contributed to this methodological critique by emphasizing the importance of normative discontent as a spur to knowledge and by recognizing the essential inseparability of pure and applied knowledge. In this light, "the peace research movement can best be understood as an effort to produce a 'Keynesian' type revolution in the international system." It rejects "the legitimacy of the institution of war" but recognizes "that war is endemic in an international system which rests on unilateral national defence. It seeks, therefore, to discover a practical dynamic which will change the system in the direction of eliminating war." Whereas the traditional study of international relations regards the preservation of the national state as an end in itself and therefore justifies the resort to war, the peace research movement regards war itself as the principal enemy and identifies the major human conflict as that "between the world war industry and the civilian population and enterprise which supports it." The goal of the "new look" is not abstract knowledge but control, not simply an understanding of "the miserable course of international history" but its transformation into something better.

1761
Bourdet, Claude. ALTERNATIVES IN EUROPE. Peace press, v. 5, Mar. 1969: 1-17.
P&GP RR

Speech before the International Seminar of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, Stuttgart, West Germany, November 22, 1968.

Attempts "to rough out some answers and some platforms for campaigns by peace movements and other progressive forces" in Europe that are opposed to the Atlantic Alliance and are concerned about the dangers posed by the domestic power structure and foreign policy of West Germany and the integration of the Inner Six in Europe.

1762
Brunner, Dominique. [FOUNDED NUCLEAR FEAR?] Begründete Atomangst? Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 135, Mar. 1969: 119-123.
U3.A43, v. 135

Several factors militate against war between the great powers at least in the area of their essential interests. For one thing, territorial expansion is no longer the best way for a state to acquire wealth and power; given the destructiveness of modern warfare, waging wars for economic reasons has lost its incentive for modern industrial nations. In open societies at least, popular resentment of war influences government policy: War can no longer be considered a normal means of state politics. Moreover, the great powers' nuclear deterrents dissuade them from launching war against each other. However, the stabilization of peace has been undermined by demographic factors. According to Gaston Bouthoul, there is a causal relationship between population growth and society's use of "destructive institutions" such as the murder of children, extreme physical exploitation of people, and war. With the growing control of epidemics in the world, the use of these institutions to reduce population surpluses increases. The "explosive demographic structure"

induces a belligerent dictatorship as a type of government. The problem is whether the spread of rationalism based on scientific, economic, and technological progress can check social aggressiveness engendered by sharp population growth. The continued sobering effect of the means of mass annihilation on the human mind, which prevents nuclear war from taking place, requires a stable arsenal of weapons, but one that is not too stable, for otherwise the "nuclear level would be paralyzed" and a "classic great-style war" would again become possible. This is precisely the reason against nuclear disarmament.

1763
FOR A GENERAL EUROPEAN CONFERENCE TO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND SECURITY. Reprints from the Soviet press, v. 8, Apr. 18, 1969: 3-8.
DK266.A2R37, v. 8
Translated from Pravda, March 18, 1969.
Slav Rm

Text of a statement signed in Budapest, March 17, 1969, by representatives of the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia.

The peace and security of all European states require their close cooperation on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. The prospects for convening the general European conference proposed almost 3 years ago by members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) are excellent since the interests of all European states are in accord on such a conference. One basic precondition of European security is mutual recognition of the existing frontiers of Europe, including the present frontiers of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The governments of the WTO call upon all European governments to encourage mutual understanding and cooperation and urge them to work toward the early implementation of a general European conference.

1764
Franklin, John Hope. THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. American scholar, v. 37, autumn 1968: 615-623.
AP2.A4572, v. 37

In the 20th century, the American scholar has become appreciably more involved in intellectual and cultural affairs outside the United States. Seeing an opportunity to fashion a new instrument of political influence, the Government, beginning with the New Deal, has progressively increased its support to this kind of activity. The charge made by some scholars that this Government sponsorship is intrinsically harmful to intellectual pursuits is unfounded; indeed, without Government assistance, international exchanges among scholars would be all but impossible. This is not to deny that there is a danger of scholars' being reduced, of their own free will or by subtle coercion, to mere mouthpieces for American foreign policy. The scholar who accepts aid from the Government is clearly obliged not to set himself up as an ally of those who oppose the policies and interests of the United States. On the other hand, he is not obliged to sacrifice his intellectual integrity to the momentary demands of the foreign policymaker, since this would be doing himself, his profession, and, in the long run, his country a serious disservice. The scholar's role is to seek truth, and, in a world where policies and ideologies are frozen by blind and unbending dogmatism, free inquiry may be "the last best hope on earth and, thus, may save us all from what otherwise could be certain destruction."

1765
Kalathil, M. GANDHIJI AND NON-VIOLENCE. Social action (Delhi) v. 19, Jan./Mar. 1969: 1-7.
HN681.S58, v. 19

Gandhi's ethic of nonviolence has its source in the ancient Hindu religion. Indeed, nonviolence is itself a religion, and not merely the negative tactic that some suppose it to be. Whatever aids in "removing hatred and prejudice and fostering friendship, trust and respect" is a part of nonviolence. Its principles may be reduced to five: that truth is invincible; that service takes precedence over self; that the spirit of man is immortal; that eminence of the spirit is attained through self-purification; and that the world is one large family, to which all men and all creatures belong. Gandhi taught that the "universal practice of non-violence would most certainly bring about on earth an atmosphere of peace, of love and justice, of happiness and perfect harmony," but he also warned of the great power of anger, hate, and other base passions, which increase the misery of mankind every day. Not everyone can practice nonviolence to perfection. The way is arduous, for only "one purified of sin, knowing his consanguinity with all creatures, and realizing that God is all in all, is on the path of non-violence."

1766
Kurtz, Harriet B., and Howard G. Kurtz. MAN'S SPACE-HAUNTED FUTURE: THE OPTIONS BEFORE US. Tempo, v. 1, Mar. 15, 1969: 4-5.
HN30.T44, v. 1

Although, from one point of view, American power has become a self-generating runaway, it is not too late to look to the future and decide how this power is to be used. The options are three: the destruction of civilization, the creation of private economic empires in foreign lands, or the development of "global war prevention systems" to serve the legitimate aspirations of all mankind. The decisions that will determine the course America takes are being made now, and the picture is not encouraging. Engines of domination and destruction monopolize U.S. investments. In the space program, for example, earth resources and other surveillance satellites are being developed that will give the United States unlimited opportunities to dominate the world economically and, ultimately, militarily. The Soviet Union, which is not far behind in space research, understands that the distinction between "good" and "bad" space programs is myth; all of them aim at "the goal of dominion over the resources of the earth without destructive war." On the brighter side, these satellites offer the chance to establish a "global armed forces management system" that will permanently eradicate the threat of war. But will this system be used for the benefit of all men, or will it become an instrument of control in the hands of some exploitive capitalist or Communist power? A new group, the Citizens Committee for Global Safety, has just released a document setting forth "a hundred bold safe initiatives" America could take to break the power of those who steer the world toward destruction or slavery. Freed from these influences, it could then lead the world "into an era of safety and well being for mankind, in a strong and effective United Nations."

1767
Kurtz, Howard G., and Harriet B. Kurtz. THE COLLAPSE OF US GLOBAL STRATEGY. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 49, May 1969: 43-52. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 49

383-421 O - 69 - 5

The United States must create a supreme strategic council to develop a long-range grand strategy for the safety of future U.S. citizens and serve as a prototype of a global safety system. To ensure its national security from further erosion the United States needs leadership with a vision of lasting world peace and the courage to mobilize the American people "to assume world leadership into a new era of global war safety control systems capable of preventing war between all nations." Advanced technologies and management skills will make such a system feasible. It will incorporate advanced systems of communications, air traffic control, space traffic monitoring, and surveillance, as well as military command and control systems. The United States should create a council on global safety to conduct research and planning, assume world leadership in the creation of a future United Nations safety authority or world security organization, and direct war prevention conferences and experimental global command and control centers. After experimenting with various prototypes, the nations of the world will be ready to develop a global safety system. As a first step they would develop surveillance systems. Second, there would be an experimental U.N. council and control system. Third, war prevention systems conferences would be organized. Finally, multinational war prevention games would be held. In none of these stages would a country be required to divulge information detrimental to its own national security. For its part, the United States would create a new military command--a U.S. global safety systems command, which would be responsible for the military aspects of U.S. development in multinational war prevention games.

1768
Lang, Sir Derek, and Hugh Hanning. PROMOTING STABILITY: AN ACTIVE ROLE FOR BRITISH MILITARY FORCES IN THE 1970S. In Royal United Service Institution, London. Journal, v. 114, June 1969: 24-34.
U1.R8, v. 114

"A lecture given at the R.U.S.I. on 22nd January 1969." Discussion included.

Discusses various civic-action programs whereby the military can contribute to "peace construction" and thus enhance its effectiveness. Although Lang and Hanning readily admit that defense remains the primary objective of the military, they argue that both the military and civilians benefit from civic-action projects not only through improved military-civilian relations but also by preventing the discontent that breeds violence.

1769
Menzel, Eberhard. [THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE?] Gewaltverzicht als erster Schritt für eine Entspannung in Mitteleuropa? Moderne Welt, v. 10, no. 2, 1969: 156-171.
D839.M58, v. 10

Discusses the unsuccessful Bonn-Moscow negotiations on the mutual renunciation of force. Menzel considers the international law obligations in that regard of the two countries, questions the "enemy state clause" of the U.N. Charter, and describes legal forms of renunciation. In the absence of the German peace treaty, the renunciation of force may contribute considerably to the easing of tensions in central Europe even if the nations concerned are already bound by international law not to use force.

1770
Parkin, Frank. MIDDLE CLASS RADICALISM: THE SOCIAL BASES OF THE BRITISH CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1968. 207 p.
JX1974.7.P27

Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Acknowledgements.--Introduction.--Mass movements and the problem of alienation.--Radical politics and social class.--Symbolic protest. I: the ideologues.--Symbolic protest. II: the intellectuals.--Symbolic protest. III: unilateralism and the Labour movement.--Youth involvement in CND.--The occupational location of middle class radicals.--Appendices.--Index.

A study of the social characteristics of supporters of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) based primarily on questionnaires completed in 1965 and 1966. Parkin compares his findings with various social theories that attempt to explain the phenomenon of direct action politics, particularly those relevant to the kind of middle class radicalism manifested among supporters of the CND. He concludes that middle class radicalism is oriented primarily to moral rather than economic issues and that support of the CND was often a symbolic protest against much broader political and social practices.

1771
Senghaas, Dieter. [EDUCATION FOR PEACE IN A QUARRELSOME WORLD] Die Erziehung zum Frieden in einer friedlosen Welt. Neue Sammlung. Göttingen Blätter für Kultur und Erziehung, v. 9, Mar./Apr. 1969: 130-139.
AP30.N517, v. 9

Discusses individual aggressiveness and the social organization of violence and recommends "micro-learning processes" to be applied as an effective education for peace. Senghaas considers such methods a prerequisite for a policy of peace. Only on the basis of adequate education can the problems of peace be discussed in a meaningful way.

1772
SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT SAYS NATO MUST GO. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, Apr. 30, 1969: 14-16.
D839.C87, v. 21

Translated from Pravda, Apr. 10, and Izvestiia, Apr. 11, 1969. Izvestiia headline: NATO is a source of tension. Slav Rm

For the past 20 years NATO has been "the bulwark of all the reactionary forces in Europe and . . . the protector of West German militarism and revanchism." The basis for its existence--to combat a "threat from the East"--was groundless, and today it stands as the major obstacle to European peace and security. The alliance, by paying enormous sums of money for weapons and creating tensions throughout Europe for the last 20 years, has caused peace-loving states to take precautionary measures such as the establishment of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. To restore peace in Europe, NATO must cease its oppression of the peoples of Europe, renounce the division of the world into military blocs, and resolve all issues by negotiation. Further, West Germany must sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and acknowledge the existence of the two Germanys and the immutability of the post-war boundaries in Europe. Above all, NATO member-states as well as all Europeans must be made aware of the catastrophic "consequences entailed in the continued existence of the aggressive NATO bloc."

1773
Speier, Hans. LIMITED PEACE. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 18 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3920) AS36.R28, no. 3920
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 84.
AS36.R284, v. 6

The abolition of war and the establishment of a world government are impossible; therefore, peace must be advanced by alleviating injustice without violence and by regulating war. Avoiding ideological and race wars in which willful destruction is uncontrollable would advance peace: current policy debate on Vietnam, for example, could be swayed if the USSR were to abandon its classic communist doctrine of the just war. Modern science cannot control war or peace; only man as a political being can constrain himself. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1774
Storz, Henning. [EUROPEAN SECURITY--SECURITY FROM GERMANY? REMARKS ON A FRENCH STUDY] Europäische Sicherheit--Sicherheit vor Deutschland? Anmerkungen zu einer französischen Studie. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Jan. 1969: 16-19.
U3.W396, v. 18

Criticism of a study prepared by the Centre d'Études de Politique Etrangère on models of Europe in the seventies, especially of the model for the German confederation, which, according to Storz, is designed to serve French hegemonic interests in Europe.

1775
Von Laue, Theodore H. THE GLOBAL CITY; FREEDOM, POWER, AND NECESSITY IN THE AGE OF WORLD REVOLUTION. Philadelphia, Lippincott [1969] 302 p. CB425.V64

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction: freedom and the metropolis.--The age of global confluence.--From the European to the global state system.--The great outpouring.--The crisis of mass politics.--The crisis of industrialism.--Freedom and alienation.--Totalitarianism in perspective.--The comparative approach.--Conclusion: the burden of globalism.--Afterword.--Index.

Explores the prospects for peace through a global city and argues that peace is possible only through a common motivation of will and a deepening global uniformity. Von Laue believes peace calls for a more individual effort, in which man can shed his ego and adjust himself to the necessities of large-scale organization, and concludes that America's most critical domestic problems are linked to those of the international community at large.

1776
Weiss, Cornelia. TRAGEDY OF CZECHOSLOVAK AND RUSSIAN PEOPLE. Pax et libertas, v. 34, Jan./Mar. 1969: 6-7. P&GP RR

Deplores the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and notes that an ideology cannot be imposed by force, either in Czechoslovakia by the Russians or in Vietnam by the United States. Weiss believes a détente is the only hope for genuine peace in the world.

1777
Wittner, Lawrence S. REBELS AGAINST WAR; THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT, 1941-1960. New York, Columbia University Press, 1969. 339 p. (Contemporary American history series)
JX1961.U6W53

Contents.--The peace movement in the thirties.--Wartime collapse.--Men against the state.--The best of all possible wars.--Hiroshima: the good news of damnation.--Organizing for a new world, 1945-1948.--Retreat, 1948-1950.--Midcentury nadir, 1950-1956.--Breakthrough, 1957-1958.--The peace movement reborn, 1959-1960.--Epilogue.--Conclusion.--Bibliography.--Index.

A history of the peace movement in the United States from 1941 to 1960. Wittner notes that "the peace movement has distinguished itself from the rest of American society not because it has desired the establishment of peace, but because it has opposed the means of war." The fortunes of the peace movement have fluctuated greatly: While a relatively small number of pacifists constitute its core, it has included very substantial and influential segments of the population when peace issues have exerted a broader appeal. The author concludes that neither of the two charges most frequently brought against the peace movement--that it is subversive and naive--is warranted.

IV. GENERAL ANALYSES AND COMPREHENSIVE APPROACHES

A. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1778
May, Ernest R. AMERICAN IMPERIALISM; A SPECULATIVE ESSAY. New York, Atheneum, 1968. 239 p.
E661.7.M3 1968

Contents.--Some answers and some questions.--The structure of public opinion.--The establishment: Boston and New York.--The establishment: points west and nationwide.--The anti-imperialist tradition.--New turns in thought.--New turns in events.--Colonialism in America.--Some tentative explanation.--Index.

Studies the impact on America of European debate during the months when the United States became a colonial power (1898-1899) and attempts to explain the processes by which a variety of influences produced an apparent revolution in American attitudes toward colonialism. May shows how American thought and opinion was influenced by a small, sophisticated establishment and by what was being said and done in Europe. He concludes that in 1901 the "voices of effective opinion" agreed once again that the United States did not need colonial possessions.

1779
O'Grady, Joseph P. CONGRESS AND ITS ABILITY TO DECLARE WAR, 1898-1969. University review, v. 35, Mar. 1969: 163-170. AP2.U735, v. 35

The drafters of the U.S. Constitution definitely hoped to prevent the President from using his control over foreign policy and the armed forces to make war at his pleasure. The arrangement whereby the power to declare war is reserved to the Congress worked well enough until the end of the 19th century. Since then, in the Spanish-American, First, Second, Korean, and Vietnam Wars, the congressional power to decide the question of war or peace has been progressively eroded. On occasion, Congress has contributed to this decline by showing itself unwilling to accept the responsibility for making the critical decisions. Presidents that have tried to give Congress a greater voice in this matter have been rebuffed. However, the greatest single cause of the decline in congressional influence has been the great change that has taken place in the nature of warfare and international politics. A deliberative body such as the U.S. Congress is unable to make decisions with the rapidity that the modern international environment requires. Opposition in Congress to the Vietnam fiasco is quite understandable, but efforts to reclaim the congressional power to declare war simply ignore the political and technological realities of the 20th century.

1780
Smith, Brenton H. THE COLD WAR AS MISREPRESENTATION. Intercollegiate review, v. 5, winter 1968/69: 124-130. illus.
AP2.I64, v. 5

A critical analysis of Louis J. Halle's The Cold War As History, Ronald Steel's Pax Americana, and Eugene McCarthy's The Limits of Power: America's Role in the World. Smith notes that these authors have altered "the story of the entire Cold War era in such a fashion that the Soviet Union appears less responsible for the crises of the time, the United States more so." He refutes their interpretation that the cold war has ended or is about to end and argues that it probably will continue until the Communist nations abandon their expansionist policies.

1781
Tatu, Michel. POWER IN THE KREMLIN: FROM KHRUSHCHEV TO KOSYGIN. Translated by Helen Katel. New York, Viking Press [1969, c1968] 570 p.
DK274.T3613 1969b

Translation of Le Pouvoir en U.R.S.S.
Bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. The U-2 affair and its consequences: A month of turmoil. Stir in the top leadership. Aftermath of the crisis.--pt. 2. The twenty-second congress 1961-1962: The pre-congress purge. Destalinization. Power problems.--pt. 3. The Cuban fiasco 1962-1963: The gamble. The impact. Restalinization under way. Kozlov's illness; a gain for Khrushchev.--pt. 4. The fall 1964: The premise; the crumbling of authority. The last straw. The coup.--pt. 5. The collective leadership on its own 1964-1966: The lobbies. From the September plenary session 1965 to the twenty-third congress March 1966. The power structure.--Epilogue.--Main events since Stalin's death.--Index.

Attempts to reconstruct the main events on the Soviet political scene from 1960 to the present and focuses on the problems that arise out of the relationships between Soviet leaders and between the institutions that they head. Tatu concludes that power and the thirst for it in Russia frequently determine the solutions to many foreign and domestic problems.

1782
Thomas, Brian. WHAT'S LEFT OF THE COLD WAR. Political quarterly, v. 40, Apr./June 1969: 173-186.
JA8.P72, v. 40

The years following the Cuban missile crisis have seen the emergence of what might loosely be described as spheres-of-influence policies in Washington and Moscow. To some extent this can be attributed to the preoccupation of both capitals with domestic problems, alliance frictions, and the growing influence of the Third World and Communist China. More important, however, have been the mutual recognition that confrontation has benefited no one and, on the U.S. side, the sharp devaluation of the Soviet threat. Does this mean that the cold war has ended? Yes, if one admits that the cold war "arose not over what the Powers did about communism but where they chose to do it." The

cold war came to a close when it was tacitly agreed that the United States would confine itself to preventing the spread of communism outside the Soviet sphere, while the Russians would limit themselves to preserving communism within it. As Walter Lippmann has noted, "the acceptance of spheres of influence has been the diplomatic foundation of the détente in Europe . . . . Eventually it will provide the formula of coexistence between Red China and the United States." But while the new arrangements are of great practical benefit to the superpowers, they may mean nothing but trouble for some of the smaller states, for they signify "that there are two Powers almost equally prepared to suppress revolutionary change in considerable parts of the earth" --in the Dominican Republic and South Vietnam, for example, or in Czechoslovakia.

1783
U.S. MILITARY COMMITMENTS IN ASIA. Current history, v. 57, Aug. 1969: 65-111, 114-118.
D410.C82, v. 57

Contents.--Before Pearl Harbor, by Walter LaFeber. --World War II in Asia, by Ross N. Berkes.--Global containment: the Truman years, by Norman A. Graebner.--The Eisenhower era in Asia, by Alvin J. Cottrell.--Growing involvement in Asia: 1960-1968, by Richard Butwell.--Commitments in Asia: 1969, by William C. Johnstone.--U.S. defense in the nuclear age, by Bernard K. Gordon.--Congress and military commitments: an overview, by Allan S. Nanes.

Collection of articles that assess "the history and scope of United States commitments in Asia." In summarizing U.S. military commitments under existing treaties, Johnstone maintains that "present and future United States military commitment to any Asian country or territory is a question of policy, not of any fixed or 'automatic' legal obligation."

1784
U.S. MILITARY COMMITMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA. Current history, v. 56, June 1969: 321-370.
D410.C82, v. 56

Contents.--The U.S. in Latin America to 1933: an overview, by Arthur P. Whitaker.--The era of the good neighbor, by George W. Grayson, Jr.--Hemispheric defense in World War II, by Philip B. Taylor, Jr.--The early cold war period, by Rollie E. Poppino.--Military commitments in Latin America: 1960-1968, by Lester D. Langley.--The Latin American military elite, by Thomas M. Millington.--The concept of hemispheric defense, by Walter A. Gunthorp and Covey T. Oliver.

Collection of articles that examine various aspects of U.S. military commitments in Latin America from the beginning of Latin American independence through the Kennedy era.

B. GENERAL ANALYSES

1785
Beaton, Leonard. IMPLICATIONS OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY ON DETERRENCE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR DISARMAMENT. In Royal United Service Institution, London. Journal, v. 114, June 1969: 34-40. U1.R8, v. 114

"A lecture given at the R.U.S.I. on 5th February 1969." Discussion included.

Explores the relationship between disarmament, security, and the nonproliferation treaty. Beaton finds disarmament to be in bad repute for several reasons, among which is the lack of any effective international machinery to deal with disarmament problems. He notes that nuclear disarmament poses greater problems of security than does conventional disarmament but draws encouragement from the apparent recognition by the United States and the Soviet Union that they have a common interest in preventing further escalation of the nuclear arms race. The author questions the wisdom of attempting to solve the problem of nuclear proliferation by treaties in the absence of a continuous administrating agency, but he regards informal agreements between the superpowers as potentially more dangerous sources of misunderstanding and friction.

1786
Beaton, Leonard. NATO AFTER THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 7, spring 1969: 76-77.
D839.A85, v. 7

European opinion on NATO is split between those who believe the alliance is essential to the security of Western Europe and those who suspect it of being a major source of East-West tensions and a barrier to disarmament. The truth is that the alliance is both an effective security system and "the most significant disarmament organization in the world." The importation of American power into Europe has vastly increased the security of member states and thereby greatly decreased the need for arms. In this regard, a comparison of the military efforts of NATO members with the efforts of neutrals like Sweden and Switzerland is instructive. To imagine what West Germany's defense policy would be like without NATO is equally informative. NATO is "a genuine and working collective security structure"; as such, it can teach the world some important lessons about how to organize an enduring peace. On the matter of nuclear proliferation, for example, it is reasonable to conclude that few nations are going to give up nuclear weapons permanently in exchange for solemn promises of protection from the United Nations. They are going to demand the same "kind of deep-seated commitment from the strong which the NATO countries have made to each other."

1787
Bull, Hedley. ARMS CONTROL: A STOCKTAKING AND PROSPECTUS. In London. Institute for Strategic Studies. Problems of modern strategy. pt. 2. London, 1969. (Adelphi papers, no. 55) p. 11-20.
U162.A3, no. 55

Although arms control measures in the 1960's have not brought total disarmament and have not eliminated political conflicts between nations, the world is a great deal safer today than it was a decade ago. The United States and the Soviet Union have devoted much effort to perfecting adequate command and control techniques, and the outbreak of nuclear war due to a breakdown in these techniques is highly remote. Furthermore, the superpowers maintain their respective assured-destruction capabilities by ensuring the invulnerability of their strategic offensive weapons, and experts do not foresee that these trends will undermine the balance of terror in the future. Although the world has become perceptibly safer, the progress of arms control has been slight. Formal agreements "have affected the course of events by virtue more of their symbolic than their intrinsic importance," and

the negotiations have contributed to international security more because of "the communication of strategic ideas . . . than as the result of their pursuit of the central purpose of arriving at agreements." Because of this nations should seek limited arms control agreements even if they are of slight significance. It would be disastrous to pursue a general and complete disarmament (GCD) plan at the expense of these agreements in the belief that GCD could be negotiated in good faith. Indeed, GCD plans should be quietly dropped by a mutual understanding between the superpowers. Experience has proved that "unilateral action" and tacit agreements are more important than formal agreements. The improvement of international security owes more to unilateral actions than to the pursuit of formal agreements. It is unfortunate that the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which has done valuable work and is a step forward, is primarily oriented toward the pursuit of such treaties. The stability of the balance of terror depends less upon the pursuit of a formal comprehensive arms control agreement than upon reciprocated restraint such as that demonstrated until recently by the United States in relation to ABM deployment.

1788
Burkemper, Raymond G. SOVIET DISARMAMENT POLICY--WHAT LIES AHEAD? Naval War College review, v. 20, Nov. 1967: 29-59.
P&GP RR

Thesis prepared for the U.S. Naval War College School of Naval Warfare.

Attempts "to determine the goal of Soviet disarmament policy through an examination of this policy and its interrelation with her foreign policy since World War II, and . . . to determine how current considerations will possibly influence future Soviet disarmament policy." Burkemper concludes that the Soviet Union has subordinated its disarmament policy, the goal of which is "the relative disarmament of the West," to its ultimate foreign policy goal of world domination. He is pessimistic about the chances for a meaningful disarmament agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States.

1789
Edwards, David V. ARMS CONTROL IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston [1969] 200 p.
JX1974.E4

Bibliography: p. 181-192.

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--The nature of arms control.--pt. 1. The determinants of arms control: Material conditions. National and international political conditions.--pt. 2. The determinants of arms control outcomes: The approach to arms control. The attainment of arms control. The implementation of arms control. The maintenance of arms control.--pt. 3. The future of arms control: The future of national arms control policies. The prospects for arms control.--Bibliography.--Index.

Discusses the objectives, successes, and failures of arms control efforts and analyzes the national and international political conditions that would encourage and permit nations to seek arms control agreements. Edwards examines the difficulties in implementing and maintaining arms control arrangements, proposes methods of dealing with these difficulties, and predicts what factors may develop to permit nations to seek arms control agreements in the coming decade.

1790
Hassner, Pierre. [EAST EUROPE BETWEEN THE EAST AND EUROPE] L'Europe de l'Est entre l'Est et l'Europe. Revue francaise de science politique, v. 19, Feb. 1969: 101-144.
JA11.R6, v. 19

Summary in English.

The past year was one of social and ideological evolution for Eastern Europe until the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Although the Soviet Union can suppress neither the desire for national independence nor the need for change, it can clearly define Eastern Europe's geographical and political limits. The Soviet empire is headed for a period of unpredictable instability and crises owing to the gap between popular aspirations and conservative rulers. Whatever happens in this part of the world will affect the outside world, especially East-West relations.

1791
Hauss, Hanns-Jochen. ARMAMENTS AND SECURITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. Peace press, v. 5, Jan./Feb. 1969: 1-15. P&GP RR

"Text of the speech at the International Seminar of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, Stuttgart, West Germany, November 22, 1968."

Contrary to the statements of some NATO strategists the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was purely defensive in nature and in no way altered the balance of military forces in central Europe in favor of the Warsaw Pact. However, the invasion did cause a hardening of military blocs in both East and West and a sharp acceleration of the arms race. Armaments, which "are an inherent characteristic of capitalism" and a "deliberately undertaken burden" for Socialist countries, are on the rise in most of the states of central Europe. West Germany in particular is pushing for a larger military establishment and a more influential role in European defense. In this situation, the outlook for arms control measures is bleak indeed. A dissolution of military blocs is not to be expected; disengagement is also out of reach for the moment. On the other hand, proportionate force reductions are still a realistic aim and so is a considerable expansion of East-West trade. The overall situation will remain unsatisfactory, however, until the Federal Republic proves that it is willing to accept the status quo by recognizing the German Democratic Republic and Germany's existing eastern frontiers. It is Bonn that holds the key to peace and arms control in central Europe.

1792
Kosygin, Aleksei N. MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO THE 18-NATION DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, Apr. 9, 1969: 13.
D839.C87, v. 21

Translated from Pravda, Mar. 19, and Izvestiia, Mar. 20, 1969. Slav Rm

Praises the work of both the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the Soviet Union in the field of disarmament while emphasizing the need for further disarmament measures and treaties to reduce the threat of world thermonuclear war. Chairman Kosygin believes agreements should be reached on limiting and reducing the means of delivering strategic weapons, on stopping nuclear-weapons production, and on prohibiting chemical and biological weapons production. He concludes by expressing the hope that the Committee's

work "will lead to the achievement of concrete results in stopping the arms race and moving forward on the path to disarmament."

1793
Lall, Betty (Goetz) MISSILE CONTROL--HOPE OR CHIMERA? Dissent, v. 16, May/June 1969: 225-230.
HX1.D58, v. 16

The climate for controlling the arms race is propitious. The United States and the Soviet Union are concerned that the production and deployment of antiballistic missiles and multiple independent reentry vehicles will destabilize the nuclear balance and escalate the arms race. Therefore, they are now considering whether an arms control agreement to freeze deployment and perhaps production of strategic offensive and defensive weapons is possible. The simplest type of agreement to execute would be one in which deployment of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles was frozen; it could be verified without undue intrusion into Soviet or U.S. territory and "would still permit research, development, and even production of strategic offensive and defensive delivery vehicles." If this freeze were effective and if the international climate remained favorable, perhaps additional arms control--a production freeze and an eventual reduction in strategic missiles--would be possible. A minimal agreement might be reached because a more favorable climate for arms control exists within the United States and the Soviet Union and both nations recognize that new weapons development might undo the strategic balance. The apparent U.S. willingness to negotiate from a comparative balance of military power rather than a position of superior military strength could represent a departure from past policy and "probably bodes well for the potential success not only for arms control negotiations but also for talks in the political realm."

1794
London. Institute for Strategic Studies. STRATEGIC SURVEY, 1968. London, 1969. 56 p.
P&GP RR

Contents. --Introduction. --The United States. --Europe: Western Europe. Eastern Europe. --The Soviet Union. --The Mediterranean & the Middle East. --The Indian sub-continent and non-Communist Asia. --China. --Africa. --Disarmament and arms control. --Chronology.

A survey of the major international events in 1968 that seeks to determine their effect on the strategic balance of power and on the relations between third-force countries and the superpowers. The institute maintains that 1968 marked the end of a 20-year era of American history in which "the pattern of international politics had to a very large extent been determined by American policy alone" and that the United States had passed through a similar period of weariness in the postwar years, with the exception that today the Soviet Union must be treated as an equal in terms of strategic power. The institute concludes that the tension in the Middle East, the friction between Eastern and Western Europe, and the turmoil in Asia "showed that, in terms of international order, the authority of the superpowers was by no means commensurate with their physical strength."

1795
OPEN SEASON FOR DISARMAMENT. Nature (London) v. 223, July 19, 1969: 225-226.
Q1.N2, v. 223

The British Government's submission of a draft convention to prohibit the manufacture, storage, or use of biological weapons was a laudable step, even if the proposal proves to be more stringent than the great powers are willing to accept. Great Britain's program of defensive research in chemical and biological warfare (CBW) is less commendable, primarily because of its close links with the U.S. program. The exceptional vulnerability of the British Isles to CBW attack certainly justifies a continuation of the Porton research effort, but might not membership in an international consortium that limited itself to purely defensive research be preferable to further collaboration with the United States? Other arms control proposals are likely to be held in abeyance until some progress is made in the upcoming strategic arms limitation talks. Unfortunately, serious political and technical obstacles--in particular, multiple reentry warheads and the problem of inspection and verification--stand in the way of agreement. In this situation "the guiding principle should be a concern for the tangibility of the next substantial measure of arms control." The test ban, Antarctic, and outer space treaties have each been successful to a degree, but the nonproliferation treaty has made a mockery of the idea that general disarmament can be pieced together from smaller measures. Asymmetrical obligations between the nuclear and nonnuclear powers are the reason for this failure, and the next agreement should aim at restoring the balance.

1796
Pierre, Andrew J. IMPLICATIONS OF THE WESTERN RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 7, spring 1969: 59-75.
D839.A85, v. 7

The Warsaw Pact's invasion of Czechoslovakia overturned the Western policy of détente and with it Gaullist and German aspirations in Eastern Europe. More important to the United States, it disrupted the steady progress toward U.S.-Soviet agreement on matters lying outside Europe--Vietnam, the Arab-Israeli dispute, and arms control. Although the invasion substantially altered the balance of military force in Europe and made predicting Soviet behavior much more hazardous, only a moderate effort has been made to strengthen NATO, which, as a result, is more dependent than ever on tactical nuclear weapons. That NATO has received a much-needed psychological boost is perhaps the only positive result of the intervention. In the long term one can expect to see an enhanced appreciation of NATO and major changes in policy and strategy in Western Europe. The U.S.-Soviet confrontation may be entering a new cold war phase, though a normalization of relations is still possible on matters of common interest. The intervention has dealt the nonproliferation treaty "a severe, perhaps fatal, blow," ruined any chance of mutual force reductions in central Europe, delayed strategic arms limitation talks, and may have stimulated the arms race anew. In the future, efforts should be made to "decouple" arms control issues from the East-West confrontation. The attempt may prove to be unrealistic for the moment, but, as the destructiveness of weapons increases, nations will find it more and more advantageous to differentiate between the various aspects of their security policy in such a way that the more pressing arms problems can be treated separately.

1797
Pusey, Merlo J. THE WAY WE GO TO WAR. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1969. 202 p.
JK558.P77

Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents. --Preface. --Crisis over the war power. --Far-flung commitments. --American troops abroad. --Constitutional roots. --Agonizing one-man decision. --The Korean precedent. --From Formosa to Cuba. --The Tonkin Gulf resolution. --The case for modernizing the war power. --Getting down to specifics. --Index.

Explores the legality of the President's power to commit his country to war without the approval of Congress and traces the use of this power since the colonial period. Pusey believes President Johnson abused his constitutional power by committing the United States to the Vietnam War and concludes that the usurpation of the war power presents a far greater threat to American democracy than the Vietnam War.

1798
Schlesinger, James R. ARMS INTERACTIONS AND ARMS CONTROL. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 21 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3881)
AS36.R28, no. 3881
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 78.
AS36.R284, v. 6

Arms control policy can be affected by several possible situations involving ABM deployment: (1) difficulty in policing Soviet offensive capabilities; (2) budget and bureaucratic constraints to Soviet military posture changes; (3) a temptation to strike first from fear of ineffective second-strike capability; (4) a superfluity of ABMs due to compensation for performance inadequacies or uselessness of the weapons in other roles; (5) more flexible Soviet policy allowing for a downgrading of ABM capabilities. Arms control objectives should aim at low level war directed at military targets; a selection of weapons based on strategy; and the inclusion of non-participating nuclear states, without whom the policy is ineffective. A conflict of interests may exist, however, in arms control over the superpowers, whose enormous capabilities have deterred the other nations from a scramble for nuclear weapons. (Abstract supplied, modified)

C. GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

V. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND LIMITED MEASURES

A. NEGOTIATION

1799
Burchett, Wilfred. WHAT KIND OF SETTLEMENT FOR VIETNAM? War/peace report, v. 9, Jan. 1969: 8-13, 23. JX1901.W38, v. 9
Interview conducted by Richard Hudson.

Expounds the position of the National Liberation Front (NLF) on peace negotiations and assesses the prospects for a settlement. Burchett reports that the NLF, which insists that the conditions for genuinely free elections must be created before elections can be held, would not agree to a coalition government with the present Saigon regime. It might agree to form a coalition with "some new type of government in Saigon" and has also considered establishing a broadly based provisional government. Burchett contends that the NLF and the People's Revolutionary Party--the strongest faction within the NLF--are autonomous organizations although they are in basic agreement with the policies of Hanoi; the principal area of disagreement is the issue of neutrality.

1800
CHENPAO ISLAND HAS ALWAYS BEEN CHINESE TERRITORY. Peking review, v. 12, Mar. 14, 1969: 14-17. map. DS701.P42, v. 12
Statement of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry; reprinted in Survival, v. 11, May 1969. U162.S9, v. 11

"On March 2, 1969, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique," claiming that Chenpao Island is Soviet territory, attacked Chinese frontier guards on the island and inflicted many casualties. Yet "Chenpao Island has always been Chinese territory," a fact recognized not only by the 1689 Sino-Russian Treaty of Nipchu but also by the unequal treaties of Aigun (1858) and Peking (1860). Marx, Engels, and Lenin all condemned the imperialist policies by which the czars acquired Chinese territories. Even according to the 1860 treaty, Chenpao remained Chinese territory since it was situated on the Chinese side of the Ussuri's main channel. In 1920 "the Soviet Government led by Lenin declared that 'all the treaties concluded by the previous Russian Government with China are null and void'" and offered to return to China all territories gained by those treaties, a promise that went unfulfilled "because China was then ruled by a reactionary government." China has consistently maintained that boundary disputes should be settled by negotiation, as boundary questions with China's other neighbors have been resolved, but in 1964 the Soviet Union refused to accept the principle that the 1858 and 1860 treaties were unequal and thereby prevented a fair settlement. Moreover, the Soviet revisionists have reinforced their troops along the Sino-Soviet border and have "carried out armed provocations and created incidents of bloodshed," thus demonstrating that "they are the new tsars of today." China will not permit any violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity but will resolutely resist the reckless policies of Soviet imperialism.

1801
Gurtov, M. HANOI ON WAR AND PEACE. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1967. 40 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3696) AS36.R28, no. 3696
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 66.
AS36.R284, v. 6
Includes bibliography.

An appraisal of the Vietnam conflict from Hanoi's standpoint. Four areas are investigated: Hanoi's assumptions regarding the U.S. and the Government of Vietnam; its assessment of the current balance of forces; its maneuvering within the Sino-Soviet rift; and its standpoint on negotiations. While changes in the military picture have altered Hanoi's tactics, they have not altered overall strategy of Hanoi's view of the war as a "just war" in which intangible assets, not readily susceptible to military pressure, will result in resolution of the final contradiction between 'the enemy and us,' without repeating the error of a ceasefire prior to negotiation. (To be published as a chapter in Vietnam and American Diplomacy, edited by John Boettiger.) (Abstract supplied)

1802
Hoeffding, O. BOMBING NORTH VIETNAM: AN APPRAISAL OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EFFECTS. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1966. 44 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5213-1-ISA) Q180.A1R36, no. 5213
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 43.
AS36.R284, v. 6

An assessment of the U.S. air offensive against North Vietnam in terms of (1) its impact on the North Vietnamese economic and political structure, and (2) its value as a coercive force in inducing the North Vietnamese government to agree to negotiations. North Vietnamese reaction to the bombings is discussed, and implications for U.S. policy are examined. (Abstract supplied)

1803
Ivanov, O. WHY IS THERE NO PEACE IN VIETNAM? Soviet military review, July 1969: 51-53.
U1.S7, 1969

The causes of the impasse in the Paris peace talks are revealed in the frank remarks of American military commanders in Vietnam, who voice confidence that the policy of applying maximum pressure will bring victory on the battlefield and hence victory at the negotiating table. The offensive launched by forces of the National Liberation Front in February proved that American hopes remain illusory, however, as American forces suffered heavy losses and were thrown back on the defensive. Despite these losses the military-industrial complex in the United States continues to exert pressure for victory while American negotiators persist in their refusal to acknowledge that peace can come only when the United States admits the futility of its military adventure and agrees to withdraw its troops.

1804
Sherman, Michael E. NIXON AND ARMS CONTROL. International journal, v. 24, spring 1969: 327-338.
D839.I5, v. 24

There are two theories of the link between political tensions and arms control. One school of thought argues that arms control negotiations can proceed independently of attempts to settle political disputes; a second suggests that progress on "technical" arms control matters is impossible unless there is concurrent progress toward resolving serious political differences. Mr. Nixon's campaign remarks led many to believe that he was a doctrinaire adherent of this second viewpoint; however, his more recent handling of the nonproliferation treaty and the proposals for talks on strategic arms limitations gives the impression that he is more pragmatic than has been supposed. His suggestion, in the election campaign, that approval of the nonproliferation treaty be made conditional upon "the normalization of relations between Russia and Czechoslovakia" was a clear application of the linkage theory of arms control. However, 3 weeks after assuming office, and without waiting for substantial alterations of the situation in Czechoslovakia, he recommended that the treaty be approved, and there was nothing dogmatic about the way he had carefully and pragmatically weighed all the relevant factors before coming to a conclusion. On the question of strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union, Mr. Nixon has again established a clear link between arms control and politics, stressing this time the importance of the political "context" of the negotiations. It will be difficult, however, for a pragmatic politician like Mr. Nixon to put up a lengthy resistance to the pressures that are building up to begin the negotiations. His concern to strengthen the Nation's damage-limiting capabilities will complicate the talks, but his willingness to accept tacit agreements in lieu of formal ones may make things easier. In any case, it would be foolish to expect immediate results; the nonproliferation treaty, though it dealt with a matter of far less import for the security of the two superpowers, took 7 years to negotiate.

1805
STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, MAY 24, 1969. Peking review, v. 12, May 30, 1969: 3-9.
DS701.P42, v. 12

Statement of the Chinese position in territorial disputes with the Soviet Union issued in reply to the Soviet statement of March 29, 1969. The statement reiterates China's claim to Chenpao Island and reviews the history of unequal treaties imposed on China by czarist Russia. It charges the Soviet Union with provoking border incidents with China and pursuing imperialist policies in Eastern Europe and Mongolia and concludes by reaffirming Chinese acceptance of the status quo until boundary questions can be settled peacefully by negotiations and calling upon the Soviet Union to do the same.

1806
Young, Oran R. THE POLITICS OF FORCE; BARGAINING DURING INTERNATIONAL CRISES. Princeton, N.J., [Published for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University, by] Princeton University Press, 1968. 438 p.
JX1952.Y65
Bibliographical footnotes.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. Crises and bargaining: Crises in international politics. The bases of international bargaining. The international setting.--pt. 2. Contextual factors: Political fluidity. The force of events. Problems of communication. Peripheral actors.--pt. 3. Tactical equations: Resolve and prudence. Bargaining impediments. Political bargains. --pt. 4. Force, coercion, and violence: Restraints on the use of violence. The role of initiative. Coercive uses of asymmetries.

Analyzes bargaining processes during international crises and distinguishes them from other types of bargaining practices. Young attempts to combine empirical analysis with conceptualizing activities; thus, his systematic and comparative analyses of coercion in international crises are based upon "an extensive effort to develop an integrated set of concepts, questions, and hypotheses about bargaining under conditions of crisis."

1807
Yowev, Stefan. [THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE] Es gibt keine Alternative. Politische Welt, v. 12, Apr. 1969: 20-25.
D839.P65, v. 12

Advocates a change in the free world's political tactic toward the Soviet bloc from defensive to offensive and considers it a fallacy to believe that East-West problems can be solved by negotiations.

B. REDUCTION OF THE RISK OF WAR

1. Escalation

1808
Matveev, V. THE PATH AHEAD. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, Apr. 16, 1969: 22.
D839.C87, v. 21
Translated from Izvestiia, Mar. 27, 1969.
Slav Rm

Scorns the U.S. ABM and the Pentagon generals for their adverse effect on disarmament but notes that the public in America and other countries, especially the Soviet Union, has "an interest in the creation in the world of the most favorable atmosphere for [Soviet-American] disarmament talks." Matveev concludes that the stockpiling of offensive nuclear missiles and the increases in the U.S. military budget must stop in the name of world peace and security.

2. Conventional Arms Transfers

1809
Frank, Lewis A. THE ARMS TRADE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. New York, Praeger [1969] xviii, 266 p. (Praeger special studies in international politics and public affairs)
HD9743.A2F7
"Selected bibliography": p. 259-266.

Partial contents. --Conditions for the arms trade. --Arms trade, production, and policy. --Background to the arms trade. --Short-term demand. --Long-term demand. --Belgium. --Canada. --Soviet Union. --United States. --U.S. military sales. --U.S. military aid. --Sanctioned arms transfers, overt and covert. --The future conduct of war. --Multilateral controls. --Evaluation. --Appendixes.

Surveys the international arms trade and its effect on world stability and peace. Frank tabularly represents the major powers' weapons exports and discusses past and present multilateral and unilateral attempts to control or regulate arms shipments. He concludes that the only really effective control over weapons will reside with the supplier countries, who maintain sufficient power to encourage the pursuit of nonmilitary goals by those seeking arms shipments.

1810
Hall, G. R., and R. E. Johnson. TRANSFERS OF UNITED STATES AEROSPACE TECHNOLOGY TO JAPAN. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 95 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3875)
AS36. R28, no. 3875
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 78.
AS36. R284, v. 6

An examination of the process and costs of transfering manufacturing technology from U.S. to Japanese aircraft producers. The basic transfer techniques are those used in the four programs that led to Japanese production of U.S.-designed aircraft during the 1950's and 1960's. The Japanese co-producers were furnished legal rights, manufacturing drawings, tool design information and, in some instances, tooling. Their U.S. counterparts also supplied planning and processing information, technical assistance teams, and some back-up manufacturing capability. Because U.S. firms were paid for data and technical assistance, they had clear incentives to provide Japanese firms with the results of U.S. experience. Co-production appears to have important advantages over other economic and military assistance arrangements. Unlike grant-aid, the recipient country shares the financial burden. Unlike direct military sales, co-production is more economically and politically acceptable because the weapons are produced locally. The methodological implications for economic theory merit emphasis. Transfers of technology can be analyzed with the same tools, problems, and benefits associated with studies of market-directed flows of other goods and services. (Abstract supplied)

1811
Klein, Jean. [CURRENT ASPECTS OF THE REGULATION OF THE ARMS TRADE] Les aspects actuels de la réglementation du commerce des armes. Politique étrangère, v. 34, no. 2, 1969: 161-189.
JX3. P6, v. 34

In contrast to the pact of the League of Nations, the United Nations Charter did not foresee the regulation of arms traffic, and this question has not been raised during the course of the debates on disarmament that followed the Second World War. However, the risks of an anarchic proliferation of conventional weapons and of their accumulation in tension areas have recently created some initiatives with a view to restraining the flow. Malta and Denmark have made some proposals that deal with the publicity of arms transfers, and the great powers have considered on several occasions the conclusion of regional accords that include the limitation of the sale of arms. These projects have met with serious objections, and it does not appear that these can be pushed aside as long as the present course of armaments is pursued. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1812
Sharkov, A. THE WASHINGTON--TOKYO WAR BUSINESS. Azia i Afrika segodnia, v. 12, Jan. 1969: 24-26.
DS1. S7, v. 12

From 1949 to 1961, U.S. sales of weapons totalled $5,000 million; in the next 5 years (1961-1966) sales increased to $12,600 million. The Japanese market occupies an important place in America's war business. Sharkov speaks of the danger to the cause of peace in the Far East posed by the threat of the rebirth of a powerful war industry in Japan. This process is accompanied by a resurgence of hegemonistic policies among the ruling circles. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1813
Sharma, B. L. SOVIET ARMS FOR PAKISTAN. In United Service Institution of India, New Delhi. Journal, v. 98, July/Sept. 1968: 223-238.
UI. U5, v. 98

Focuses upon the recent Soviet decision to supply arms to Pakistan, its background, and causes. Sharma acknowledges that Soviet help to India has been consistent and substantial but maintains that Soviet disregard for national feeling in India can only be detrimental to Indo-Soviet relations.

1814
Shelepin, V. ALBANIA IN PEKING'S PLANS. New times, no. 7, Feb. 19, 1969: 19-20. map.
D839. N483, 1969

The Peking leaders have assigned a new role to Albania and intend to turn it into China's European base. With their assistance Albania is building air and naval bases, preparing airports and launching pads, and receiving arms and aid from the Chinese air force and logistics experts. The Chinese have established themselves on the strategic Sazan Island, which can shelter submarine bases. In November 1968 a military agreement was signed that allowed China to station armed forces and build military bases on the Albanian Adriatic Sea coast, and, according to French sources, China might plan to install offensive missiles in Albania. Although the military expenditures impose a heavy burden on the Albanian population, the Albanians are supporting China in their propaganda attacks against the Soviet Union, thus playing directly into the hands of the Western imperialists, and the Chinese bases in Albania are "spearheaded" against the Soviet Union and other European Socialist countries.

1815
Thayer, George. THE WAR BUSINESS; THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMAMENTS. New York, Simon and Schuster [1969] 417 p.
HD9743. A2T5

Contents.--Foreword.--pt. 1. Prologue: The age of arms.--pt. 2. Free enterprise armed: Samuel Cummings of Interarms. Private entrepreneurs, all! --pt. 3. Bureaucracy armed: The Pentagon drummers. The problems of success. Competitive governments. What ever happened to Krupp? . . . The Communists as arms traders.--pt. 4. Conclusion: New eras, new policies.--Notes.--Bibliography. --Index.

Discusses the international armament trade, whose yearly volume is estimated at $5 billion, and its effect

on world peace and stability. Thayer states that the increase in violence throughout the world is directly related to the proliferation of conventional weapons since 1945 and that the arms trade encourages arms races among nations and ensures the transformation of political conflicts into wars. The United States has contributed to these arms races by pumping some $50 billion worth of arms into the world market. The author hopes that America will tone down its arms policy by making it subordinate to its overall, long-term foreign policy objectives. Otherwise, the world may be living on borrowed time.

1816
Warren, Robert H. MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM; FOREIGN MILITARY SALES. Vital speeches of the day, v. 35, July 15, 1969: 601-603.
PN6121.V52, v. 35

"Delivered at the Aerospace Industries Association of America International Committee Meeting, Washington, D.C., March 26, 1969."

Comments on the "reorganization of military assistance grant aid and Foreign Military Sales operations in [the] Office of the Secretary of Defense . . . , possible policy changes, and the Military Assistance Program." Warren concludes that grant aid will probably decline after 1970, that sales to highly developed countries will probably decline while those "to 'oil rich' and less developed countries will probably increase," and that a major portion of sales to highly developed countries will probably include technical components and know-how whereas those to "oil rich" and less developed countries will include "complete end items and systems."

1817
Yodfat, A. Y. ARMS AND INFLUENCE IN EGYPT--THE RECORD OF SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE SINCE JUNE 1967. New Middle East, no. 10, July 1969: 27-32. illus.
DS63.1.N48, 1969

Focuses on the amount of Soviet military aid to Egypt since the Arab-Israeli War. Yodfat notes that "in providing military assistance to the [United Arab Republic] the Soviets had in mind a wider perspective that took into account the central position which Egypt enjoyed in the Arab world, as well as its place and role among nonaligned and African states." He concludes that Soviet threats of force in the Middle East appear "to be more political than actual, intended to encourage acceptance of Soviet solutions."

3. Nuclear Proliferation

1818
Alekseev, A. NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND THE NON-NUCLEAR STATES. International affairs (Moscow) no. 6, Mar. 1969: 9-13.
D839.I465, 1969

Analyzes the proceedings and recommendations of the conference of nonnuclear-weapon states held in Geneva in August-September 1969, and the actions taken upon those recommendations by the 23rd General Assembly. Alekseev finds much to praise in the deliberations of the conference and Assembly but also much to condemn. He accuses the conference of promoting a formal organization of nonnuclear-weapon states, which, in the Soviet view, would be incompatible with the United Nations Charter because it would permit the discussion of questions of national security without the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council. The Soviet Union favors international cooperation to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy but believes that solutions to these problems "should be sought along the path of coordination and implementation of international agreements like the Non-Proliferation Treaty," which "creates a genuine basis for enhancing international security and developing cooperation between states in the nuclear field."

1819
Baumann, Gerhard. [SECURITY ASPECTS OF THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY] Sicherheitsaspekte des Atomwaffensperrvertrages. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Jan. 1969: 8-16.
U3.W396, v. 18

Considers the reservations of France and of nonnuclear and neutral nations to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and describes the security problems posed for the nonnuclear nations after their accession to the treaty.

1820
Beaton, Leonard. [THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY AND NATIONAL SECURITY; THE IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY PROMISES BY THE NUCLEAR POWERS] Kernwaffen-Sperrvertrag und nationale Sicherheit; die Bedeutung der Sicherheitszusagen der Atommächte. Europa-Archiv, v. 24, Jan. 10, 1969: 5-12.
D839.E86, v. 24

The nuclear nonproliferation treaty comes at an opportune time since no nonnuclear-weapon state is actively engaged in a nuclear armaments program that would prevent it from acceding to the treaty. It comes in a bad moment since the United States and Great Britain are reducing their commitments abroad, for the success of the treaty, which is to lay the foundation for a new world order, depends on an increase of these commitments. The nonnuclear-weapon states fear that their renunciation of the weapons that are important for the determination of world order will reduce them to the role of protectorates, especially since the treaty does not curb the great powers' nuclear armaments and does not provide nonnuclear-weapon-state parties with adequate security guarantees. Joint American, Soviet, and British "guarantees," included in the U.N. Security Council resolution, commit the three powers merely to procedural steps in the Council in case of a nuclear attack on a nonnuclear-weapon-state party to the treaty. As a promise of intervention, they lack credibility, given the present trend in the United States and Great Britain to reduce their commitments abroad. At present, only a military alliance such as NATO can offer its nonnuclear-weapon-state members credible protection, especially since it protects them also against conventional attacks. It is improbable that a nonnuclear-weapon state that is uncommitted to an alliance with a great power will be subjected to nuclear attack without first being attacked with conventional weapons. As the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is clearly in the nuclear powers' interest, nonnuclear-weapon-state members of military alliances such as NATO--e.g., West Germany--would only risk losing their effective protection by embarking on nuclear-armaments programs. But uncommitted nations have no such interest in renouncing their armaments. To win them over to the treaty, the great powers should offer them a measure of security; they should adopt for

themselves a common standard of behavior that would prevent the United States and the Soviet Union, for instance, from playing separate cards and taking opposite sides in the uncommitted world--e.g., in the problem of Kashmir or in the Middle East. This sounds idealistic but is a prerequisite for an effective nonproliferation strategy.

1821
Beaton, Leonard. [THE NUCLEAR POSITION OF INDIA AND ISRAEL] La position nucléaire de l'Inde et d'Israël. Politique étrangère, v. 34, no. 1, 1969: 5-16.
JX3. P6, v. 34

India and Israel possess research reactors that will permit them to stock plutonium and eventually to manufacture a few bombs. But is this in their interest? The nonproliferation treaty will help in fact to multiply the atomic installations and increase the stock of fissile material in the world. It might offer future irresponsible governments the dangerous temptation to use these stocks for military purposes. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1822
Bergier, Jacques. [THE H-BOMB OF THE POOR] La bombe H du pauvre. Nouveau planète, v. 7, May 1969: 56-59. illus. P&GP RR
Reprinted from the New Scientist, London.
Q1. N52

Thanks to the laser it will become possible for a small country with a primitive industrial potential to produce an H-bomb. Studies have revealed that the ruby laser can produce all the components essential to thermonuclear production. Nations would need only a source of lithium and heavy water, artificial rubies and crystals, an electric excitator, and several qualified scientists. Such a prospect can have a tremendous impact on the international community, and in the face of it the only solution appears to be peace, but one that is truly desired by the whole world.

1823
Botzian, Rudolf. [THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY AND THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY] Die Internationale Atomenergie-Organisation und der Kernwaffen-Sperrvertrag. Europa-Archiv, v. 24, Mar. 25, 1969: 209-216.
D839. E86, v. 24

The nuclear nonproliferation treaty obligates nonnuclear-weapon-state parties to conclude agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that would subject them to its control, which is to be executed in accordance with the agency's statute and safeguard system. IAEA control is no more penetrating than Euratom's; the difference is that Euratom's control functions are closely linked with the procurement of fissionable material, for Euratom is the supplier and proprietor of the material it controls. The prime objective of Euratom's control is not to guard against the use of such material for nuclear weapons, but to ensure that it is used by a Euratom member specifically for the declared purpose, military or not. It is not clear how some discrepancies between the scope of control stipulated by the nonproliferation treaty and that provided by the IAEA safeguards system are to be removed. The treaty prohibits nonnuclear-weapon-state parties from using nuclear energy for peaceful explosive devices as well as nuclear weapons, while the IAEA safeguards system contains no such ban on peaceful explosives. IAEA control is limited to the civilian nuclear industry; facilities that are mainly nonnuclear but process fissionable material do not fall under IAEA control, yet the treaty expects the IAEA to check on such facilities as well. There are some open questions in regard to the possible application of the treaty to Germany. For instance, what agreement will introduce IAEA control to Berlin, which is a disputed territory of the German Federal Republic? The IAEA will need at least 5 years to adjust itself fully to the requirements of the treaty. However, the effectiveness of the control is a concern not primarily of the IAEA but of the contracting parties to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

1824
Botzian, Rudolf. [THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY AND SUPPLY AGREEMENTS BETWEEN EURATOM AND THE UNITED STATES] Atomwaffensperrvertrag und Lieferabkommen Euratom-USA. Atomwirtschaft--Atomtechnik, v. 14, Feb. 1969: 85-86.
TK9001. A97, v. 14

In discussions of the effects of the non-proliferation treaty on the peaceful use and development of nuclear energy in non-nuclear countries one question is particularly important for the members of the European Atomic Community: Can the security controls laid down in the Euratom Agreement be retained or must they be replaced by the IAEA controls? It is frequently claimed that the USA in its 1958 agreement on collaboration with Euratom contractually accepted the Euratom controls and must therefore tolerate the control sovereignty of Euratom until at least 1980. The author, however, holds the view that the USA has if need be the legal possibility, based on its own internal law, of terminating the supply contract with Euratom in favour of the non-proliferation treaty. He bases his opinion on the fact that in the US Atomic Energy Act of 1954 it is laid down that international agreements take precedence over internal legal provisions, and it is expressly stated that collaborative agreements are not international agreements in this sense. Accordingly the USAEC is not only entitled but even obliged to suspend all actions under the Euratom-USA Agreement if these conflict with the non-proliferation treaty. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1825
Brandt, Willy. NON-PROLIFERATION AND EQUALITY. News from Germany, v. 24, Jan./Feb. 1969: 1-7.
DD257. N518, v. 24

Appraises the nuclear nonproliferation treaty from the standpoint of the unhindered use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, universal disarmament, and West German security. The German Federal Republic's Minister for Foreign Affairs expounds his nation's need to sign the treaty without any further delay. The treaty represents "a laboriously achieved compromise between nuclear powers, non-nuclear powers, confronting alliances, non-allied countries, developing countries and highly industrialised states." Even with all the defects attributed to it, the treaty paves the way to world peace and security. Refusal by Bonn to sign the treaty might have an adverse effect on the West German atomic industry.

1826
[THE CENTRIFUGE AND THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY] Zentrifuge und Sperrvertrag. Atomwirtschaft--Atomtechnik, v. 14, Apr. 1969: 165.
TK9001. A97, v. 14

Argues that further delay in the German Federal Republic's accession to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty could adversely affect West German participation in the joint British, Dutch, and West German project for the peaceful use of nuclear energy through the centrifuge process.

1827
Chekhonin, B. WHO PROFITS FROM OBSTRUCTION OF THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY? Reprints from the Soviet press, v. 8, May 16, 1969: 47-50. DK266.A2R37, v. 8
Translated from Izvestiia, April 16, 1969.
Slav Rm

Some members of the Japanese ruling circle are putting forward various arguments against signing the nonproliferation treaty (NPT) to further their attempts to convert Japan into a nuclear power. The argument that Japan would fall far behind the major nuclear powers in the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes if it signs the NPT is false because the NPT specifically assures that no hindrance will be placed on peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Similarly the argument that Japan could not protect itself against a possible attack without nuclear weapons is specious since the NPT provides for effective safeguards against aggression. Japan can demonstrate that it intends to use its growing economic and political power peacefully by signing the NPT.

1828
Dalma, Alfons. [ISRAEL ON THE WAY TOWARD NUCLEAR POWER?] Israel am Wege zur Atommacht? Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 7, Mar./Apr. 1969: 164-165.
P&GP RR

The critical geopolitical situation that threatens Israel's very existence justifies for the nation the possibility of nuclear armaments that could effectively deter enemy aggression. In terms of scientific, technological know-how, Israel is capable of producing atomic weapons. It has an adequate industrial basis for this, and costs should not pose a particular problem, for, contrary to the superpowers' propaganda, an effective nuclear deterrent is cheaper than conventional armaments in modern defensive weaponry. "The production of nuclear weapons of a certain order of magnitude is becoming more and more simple and inexpensive." Nuclear arms and their means of delivery of the order of magnitude that is particularly useful for a superpower, but not for a small nation, are of course, the most expensive. The Israeli nuclear arsenal would not need costly missiles to deter Arab aggression. The Arabs deceive themselves by hoping that the Soviet Union will provide them with atomic weapons if Israel has nuclear armaments. By giving their client such weapons, the Russians would make him independent of their protection and could easily lose a part of their sphere of influence. Nuclear weapons in the hands of a small power could make a superpower's intervention in the latter's affairs unprofitable. They could be an effective deterrent against the superpower despite their low order of magnitude.

1829
Hirschfeld, Oswald. [SIGNATURE NOW, RATIFICATION IN GOOD TIME] Unterschrift jetzt, Ratifikation beizeiten. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 13, Feb. 20, 1969: 70-71. U3.W38, v. 13
Summaries in English and French.

Advocates the earliest possible accession by the German Federal Republic to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, which has already been signed by 89 states, including most members of the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Although they are in a situation similar to West Germany's, these Euratom states do not share certain of Bonn's reservations to the treaty. Any further delay by Bonn in signing the treaty would alienate the Federal Republic from the international community and adversely affect its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union.

1830
Imai, Ryukichi. THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND JAPAN. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 25, May 1969: 2-7. illus.
TK9145.A84, v. 25

The nonproliferation treaty (NPT) confronts the Japanese Government with some difficult policy decisions. The treaty is a clear manifestation of the emerging Pax Russo-Americana, which Japan has neither the strength nor the desire to challenge. At the same time, when viewed from a Japanese perspective, the treaty proves to be seriously defective, as even the briefest analysis will show. For one thing, there is the matter of security guarantees, which remains surrounded with ambiguities. For another, there is the impact of the treaty on nuclear science and technology. Finally, there is the international safeguards system, which will be prohibitively expensive, may disrupt those industries to which it is applied, and will offer ample opportunities for industrial espionage. Despite these objections, it would be to Japan's advantage to ratify the treaty, provided only that three essential reservations are made. If China should become a major nuclear power, or if "non-aligned, developed countries" should acquire nuclear weapons capabilities, then the "basic structural support" for the NPT would be destroyed before the end of its 25-year life. Some provision should be made to deal with this contingency. Japan should also press for the establishment of an international mechanism to ensure that nonnuclear-weapon states have access to peaceful nuclear technology and should support a policy of establishing regional arrangements, similar to Euratom, to make detailed inspections of nuclear facilities.

1831
Roedl, Franz. CONSEQUENCES FOR GERMANY OF THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY. Central Europe journal, v. 17, Apr. 1969: 122-125.
DB200.7.S74, v. 17

Report on the debate held on February 7, 1969, in the West German Federal Parliament on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, which includes the opinion of several Ministers and of Chancellor Kiesinger, who cannot see his way clear to sign as long as the issue of the Soviet Union's claim to intervention and that of the right of control, which threatens the German economy, are not clarified. Roedl cites the opposition in Parliament, including the opinion of FDP-Chairman Scheel, who calls for protection of German vital opportunities since the Treaty "can be turned into a brake on peaceful development (atomic research)." Reference is also made to states that would definitely be in a position to produce atomic weapons but who have not signed the Treaty, whereas the Federal Republic has voluntarily refrained from doing so. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1832
Rupprecht, Wilfried. [THE VOICE OF NONNUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES IN DECISIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY. REPRESENTATION ON THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS] Die Mitbestimmung der Nichtkernwaffenstaaten in der Internationalen Atomenergie-Organisation. Die Vertretung im Gouverneursrat. Europa-Archiv, v. 24, Apr. 10, 1969: 251-260.
D839.E86, v. 24

The controversy between the advocates and the critics of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty pertains largely to the problem of nonnuclear-weapons states' having an adequate share in international decision-making; it also reflects a cleft between the rich and the poor nations of the world. Since the treaty consigns control over nonnuclear-weapon parties to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the dispute naturally focuses on the agency's organizational structure. In September 1968 the IAEA's General Conference ordered the agency's Board of Governors to prepare by fall 1969 recommendations for changes in article 6 of the IAEA's statute from the standpoint of a more equitable distribution of the board's membership than heretofore. The board, which is the agency's policymaking body and has the authority to carry out its functions, comprises 25 member states--13 of them designated by the board itself, and 12 elected by the General Conference. The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and Canada have de facto permanent seats on the board; the statute does not provide for de jure permanency similar to that in the U.N. Security Council. There is no legal barrier to the General Conference to change the number of seats in each category or to change the categories. Article 6 is a product of compromise between "nuclear haves," who want the Board to reflect their nuclear-economic significance, and "have-nots," who want it to be composed according to a geographical equilibrium. "Since the subsumption of reality under [these] two principles has no absolute validity, an absolute solution in terms of an equal consideration of the two is to be ruled out." However, the presence of these two principles is essential for the reconciliation of differences between East and West and between givers and recipients of aid for nuclear development. The introduction of other criteria "may indeed be objectively justified, but it will encounter great difficulties in the political field."

1833
Steenbeck, Max, and others. ON THE NECESSITY OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES RENOUNCING NUCLEAR WEAPONS; SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL EVIDENCE ON THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS FOR THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE WEST GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC. German foreign policy, v. 8, no. 1, 1969: 51-63.
DD261.4.D353, v. 8
Joint authors: Klaus Fuchs, Karl Rambusch, Justus Mühlenpfordt, Karl F. Alexander.
The original German-language report was abstracted as item 1358 in v. 5, no. 3, of this bibliography.

Examines the development of the West German nuclear-power program from the standpoint of that country's present and potential capacity to produce nuclear weapons. The authors, East German nuclear physicists, point out that the program aims to provide West Germany with the essentials for a high degree of autarky in fissionable materials, which would enable it to produce nuclear weapons without outside help.

1834
SURVEY OF JAPAN. Nuclear engineering international, v. 14, May 1969: 397-419. illus.
TK9001.N75, v. 14

Contents. --Introduction, by Shiro Kiuchi. --Development and utilization of nuclear energy in Japan, by the Atomic Energy Bureau. --Research activities of the Japan Atomic Energy Research Institute, by Hiroshi Murata. --Nuclear industry of Japan, by Mamoru Sueda. --Nuclear industry chart, no. 6--Japan. --Research and development of the Power Reactor and Nuclear Fuel Development Corporation, by Goro Inouye. --Nuclear fuel cycle for Japan, by Ryukichi Imai. --Fast breeder development programme in Japan, by Yuzo Endo. --Utilization of radioisotopes and radiation in Japan, by Ichiro Suetsuma. --Controlled thermonuclear research in Japan, by K. Yamamato and S. Mori. --Japan's first nuclear ship, by Yutaka Hirata. --Report on the Second Annual Conference of the Japan Atomic Industrial Forum.

Articles on the most significant aspects of a nuclear research, development, and construction program that is designed to make nuclear power Japan's major source of energy.

1835
Wentz, Walter B. NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. Washington, Public Affairs Press [1968] 216 p.
JX1974.7.W45
Bibliography: p. 193-203.
"Text of treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons": p. 204-210.

Contents. --The nuclear reality. --pt. 1. The nuclear option: the proliferation trend. The nuclear club candidates. Exercising the nuclear option. China; an atomic adversary. France; an atomic friend. --pt. 2. The consequences of acquisition: India; an atomic neutral. Israel; an atomic fuse. West Germany; an atomic enigma. Japan; another enigma. The fringe nations. --pt. 3. The alternatives of U.S. policy: Alternatives of nuclear strategy. The McNamara doctrine. Deterrents. Proliferation policy. Arms control and disarmament. Revolution and communism. China policy. Asian policy. European policy. Near and Middle East policy. --pt. 4. Conclusion: Realities and alternatives. Politics and proliferators. U.S. nuclear policy. References. Appendix.

Examines "nuclear proliferation and the options open for United States foreign policy." Wentz notes that proliferation has continued despite U.S. and Russian opposition, suggests that America's nuclear policy needs reexamination, and offers "alternatives that would prove more realistic and fruitful than the present twenty-two year old nuclear policy."

4. Other (Accidental War, Command and Control of Weapons, etc.)

1836
Jacobson, Leonard. THE PLAUSIBILITY OF A STRATACOMSAT SYSTEM. Signal, v. 23, July 1969: 12-14.
UG1.M65, v. 23

Examines the plausibility of using common types of satellites and terminals to carry strategic and tactical communications and explores the trend that "is developing in which the dichotomy that existed between tactical

and strategic communications is disappearing." Jacobson asserts that by 1980 technology should make it possible to merge strategic and tactical communications systems into a single type of satellite system and concludes by exploring the problems associated with such a system.

1837
McLeod, J. S. EXPECTATIONS FOR SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS IN THE DEFENSE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM. Signal, v. 23, Apr. 1969: 8-11.
UGl. M65, v. 23

Notes the possibilities for satellite communications in the defense communications system, outlines the problems of satellite communications, and specifies design considerations that will overcome these problems.

1838
Raven, Wolfram von. [BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS] Biologische und chemische Waffen. Moderne Welt, v. 10, no. 1, 1969: 66-76.
D839. M58, v. 10

Sums up the history of international efforts aimed at a universal ban on biological and chemical weapons and considers the development and effectiveness of such weapons. Raven argues that such a ban would be unenforceable even in the best climate of détente because of difficulties in controlling the development and production of chemical and biological agents. It is better that the threat of these weapons to mankind remain transparent than that it appear repelled when in fact it still continues.

1839
Westmoreland, William C. THE MILITARY USES OF COMMUNICATIONS-ELECTRONICS. Signal, v. 23, Aug. 1969: 28, 30, 32, 73.
UGl. M65, v. 23
Address delivered to the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association.

Discusses the military uses of electronics and communications, specifically in Vietnam, and outlines immediate goals for the Army. Westmoreland notes that in the near future the Army will complete "a five-year program which will modernize [the U. S.] worldwide communications system."

C. REGIONAL

1. Tension Areas

1840
Abosch, Heinz. [IS THE INSOLUBLE NEAR EAST CONFLICT SOLVABLE?] Der unlösbare Nahostkonflikt lösbar? Frankfurter Hefte, v. 24, Mar. 1969: 147-150.
AP30. F555, v. 24

Defines the present state of the Arab-Israeli dispute as an endurance race that becomes increasingly hopeless and therefore ripe for intervention by third parties. Abosch points out the limitations of Soviet and American policies in the area and suggests an arms embargo and the creation of a fully independent West Jordanian state as a way toward a permanent solution of the dispute. Arab leaders will eventually have to abolish their illusions, and the Soviet Union will have to stop arming Arab countries if it wants its proposals to be considered.

1841
Abu-Jaber, Faiz. AMERICAN-ARAB RELATIONS FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION TO THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, 1917-1948. Middle East forum, v. 44, no. 4, 1968: 5-20.
DS41. M45, v. 44

Endeavors to expose the historical roots of discord between the United States and the Arabs. Tracing the growth of Arab disenchantment with U. S. foreign policy in the Middle East, Abu-Jaber develops the thesis that U. S. aid to Zionism and the new State of Israel was responsible for the postwar crisis of confidence between the United States and the Arab countries that precipitated the latter into neutralism in the cold war and opened the way for Soviet penetration of the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

1842
AlRoy, Gil C. THE IRRATIONAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. Jewish frontier, v. 35, Sept. 1968: 7-12.
DS149. A324, v. 35

Irrational behavior on the part of both Arabs and Israelis has produced the highly volatile situation in the Middle East. The bitter Arab hostility to Israel can be explained by the "lingering dismay over the disastrous course of Muslim power at the hands of the West in modern history" and the Arab trauma with Westernization. This hostility has aroused an anxiety in Israel that goes deep into the Jewish psyche. Victimization and martyrdom have long been an intrinsic part of Jewishness; the unusually high concentration in Israel of Jews with experiences of persecution naturally produces a heightened sensitivity to Jewish jeopardy. A disregard for these deeply irrational drives on the part of the international community combined with power politics generally weighs against peace in the Middle East; thus, "the familiar idea of 'bringing the weight of world opinion to bear on the side of peace in the Middle East' is . . . a contradiction in terms under prevailing circumstances." U. N. involvement in the area has probably contributed to war because of that organization's pro-Arab bias. An equitable compromise of opposing claims in the Middle East sounds fair but is unrealistic. The Arab sense of injustice will continue until Israel is exterminated; the West cannot accept such a possibility. Thus, the outlook for peace in the Middle East is dim. The Arab inability to face reality will probably cause Israel to expand once more.

1843
THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT LODGES STRONG PROTESTS WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. Peking review, v. 12, June 13, 1969: 4-5.
DS701. P42, v. 12

Contents. --Chinese Foreign Ministry's June 6 note. --Chinese Foreign Ministry's June 11 note.

Reports a series of border incidents and armed provocations by the Soviet Government since the March 15 attack on Chenpao Island. Soviet-provoked incidents are alleged to have occurred April 16, 17, and 25 in the Chiamanchi area of Tahcheng County, Sinkiang; during the latter part of April in the area east of Suifenho, Heilungkiang; May 2 in the Barluk Mountains in Yumin County, Sinkiang; May 12 at Wupalao Island in the Heilung River in Huma County, Heilungkiang; May 14 in Aihwei County, Heilungkiang; May 20 in the Yehhsikai area in Khabaho County, Sinkiang; May 20 in the Chiamanchi area of Tahcheng County, Sinkiang; May 25 in the vicinity of Heiho on the Heilung River; and May 28

in Fuyuan County, Heilungkiang. The note also charges that Soviet aircraft penetrated to a depth of 60 kilometers over Chinese territory during the period from March 29 to May 31. The June 11 note accuses the Soviet Union of provoking a bloody incident on June 10 in the Barluk Mountains, Yumin County, Sinkiang.

1844
Fall, Bernard B. ANATOMY OF A CRISIS; THE LAOTIAN CRISIS OF 1960-1961. Edited with an epilogue by Roger M. Smith. Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1969. 283 p. DS557.L28F3
Bibliography: p. 264-266.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. The background: Some glimpses from the past. From war to war. The road to Geneva. Phony peace.--pt. 2. The crisis: The pendulum. "The Laos Fraud." The American stake. Coup and countercoup.--pt. 3. The solution: Internationalizing the crisis. Epilogue.

An historical analysis of the Laotian crisis. Fall examines the diplomatic, political, and military events that contributed to the creation and the denouement of the crisis and notes the probable effects of the conflict upon Asia and the United States.

1845
Fischer, Kurt. [THE SUEZ CANAL IN THE POLITICAL STRATEGIC CONCEPT OF THE SOVIET UNION] Der Suez-Kanal im politisch-strategischen Konzept der Sowjetunion. Wehrkunde, v. 18, Feb. 1969: 67-70. U3.W396, v. 18

Explains that Soviet ambitions for intervention in the Arab-Israeli conflict make it mandatory for the Soviet Union not to press for an early opening of the Suez Canal.

1846
Galay, Nikolai. THE GEOPOLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA. Studies on the Soviet Union, v. 7, no. 4, 1968: 45-61. DK1.S75, v. 7

Reviews the history of Soviet central Asia and assesses its geographic, political, and strategic importance to the Soviet Union. Galay focuses on Russia's drive to extend its borders and influence southward to the Indian Ocean. He observes that the Soviet Union dominates central Asia--politically, economically, and militarily--more than ever before; it holds an overwhelming advantage over China in this region in view of the latter's severe transportation and communication handicaps in Sinkiang Province--an advantage that may be short-lived (15-20 years), however, since China has immense potential for development.

1847
Görner, Gunter. GDR ENSURES PEACEFUL TRANSIT TRAFFIC TO AND FROM WEST BERLIN. German foreign policy, v. 8, no. 1, 1969: 12-23. DD261.4.D353, v. 8

Expounds the German Democratic Republic's exclusive and unrestricted power under international law to control and supervise all movement of persons, goods, and information across its territory, to which the international traffic lanes between West Berlin and West Germany belong.

1848
Griffith, William E. EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 45 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3983) AS36.R28, no. 3983
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 88. AS36.R284, v. 6

A report addressed to the question, Has the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia permanently reversed or only retarded the trend toward national autonomy and liberalization in Eastern Europe? It examines the reaction to the invasion and current political developments in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The author concludes that the invasion has probably limited but not reversed tendencies toward national communism. Soviet society is tending toward "bureaucratic degeneration"; countervailing forces of intellectual ferment, nationalities tensions, and economic revisionism make a reversion to Stalinist imperialism in Eastern Europe extremely difficult. The invasion was primarily an assertion of Great Russian imperialism, not "proletarian internationalism." Everywhere in modernizing Eastern Europe, politicization and nationalism, plus the demand for economic growth, threaten rigidly centralized regimes. The attraction of Western Europe, particularly the economic pull of Western Germany, is very strong. After an interim period of some repression, a gradual resumption of liberalization seems the most likely prognosis for Eastern Europe. (Abstract supplied)

1849
Hester, Hugh B. BONN AND BERLIN AGAIN THREATEN WORLD PEACE. New man, v. 21, Apr./June 1969: 2-4. P&GP RR

Continued U.S. support of West Germany's claims to Berlin threatens world peace. President Nixon should attempt to dissuade the West Germans from holding their presidential election in Berlin; such an act is highly provocative and unnecessary. Moreover, he "should set in motion the machinery for a general European accord which would realistically reflect . . . Germany's defeat in World War II." The United States should recognize the German Democratic Republic, and West Germany should end its revanchist claims to East German territory.

1850
Kearney, Vincent S. THE WAR NOBODY WON. America, v. 120, June 7, 1969: 664-667. BX801.A5, v. 120

The Arab world appears ready for a peace settlement with Israel partly because of and partly in spite of the 6-day war and its aftermath. Lebanon fears Israel's expansionist aims; Jordan has become dependent on outside support after a decade of impressive economic progress prior to the war; and Egypt cannot hope to meet its pressing social needs unless peace is achieved. Israel, despite its overwhelming victory, now has to contend with the problems of an occupying power, especially with the increasing harassment of the Arab guerrillas. The November 1967 U.N. Security Council resolution, which granted most of Israel's prewar demands, remains a sound basis for a settlement, but, since the Arabs regard an "imposed" settlement as an important face-saving device, the prospects for peace are poor as long as Israel opposes it. Postponement of a settlement only strengthens the Arab guerrilla movement and increases the chances that Israel "risks becoming a captive of its own success."

363-421 O - 69 - 6

1851
Lewis, Bernard. THE GREAT POWERS, THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS. Foreign affairs, v. 47, July 1969: 642-652.
D410. F6, v. 47

The Soviet Union, which holds the key to Middle East peace talks, has both gains and losses to show for its involvement in Middle Eastern politics. Soviet military and naval strength in the Middle East is much greater than a decade ago; on the other hand, the closing of the Suez Canal has weakened, at least temporarily, the Soviet position in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, and the Russians face a variety of problems in their role as protectors of the Arab States. The Western Powers, which tend to favor an "imposed" settlement in order to defuse a potentially explosive situation, are reluctant to pressure Israel as long as a new confrontation does not appear imminent. Given the attitudes of the Arabs and Israelis and their relationship to their respective protectors, the most the great powers can hope to do at present is to ease tensions and calm passions as much as possible.

1852
McKenna, Joseph C. ELEMENTS OF A NIGERIAN PEACE. Foreign affairs, v. 47, July 1969: 668-680.
D410. F6, v. 47

Reviews the background of the Nigerian civil war, identifies the major issues at stake in the conflict, and outlines the terms for a possible settlement. McKenna emphasizes that the Ibo secession was motivated primarily by fear and personal insecurity and that any peace settlement must address itself to this problem. He favors a settlement in which Biafra would remain part of Nigeria but with reasonable guarantees of its own autonomy and security.

1853
Matveev, V. WHAT ATLANTICISM HAS BROUGHT TO EUROPE. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 21, Mar. 12, 1969: 16. D839. C87, v. 21
Translated from Izvestiia, Feb. 22, 1969.
Slav Rm

Although Harold Wilson warned in 1962 that West Germany was becoming a universal supplier of arms to all conflict areas, he began to demonstrate solidarity with Bonn after becoming Prime Minister unaware that he was supporting the German militarists. The German leaders are still harnessed to the United States, but they are trying to "handle the reins" themselves and indoctrinate the population to favor the extension of NATO. They refer to the events in Czechoslovakia as a threat to peace and conceal from their people the obvious fact that the Soviet Union is no threat to Western Europe. At a time when reasonable people in the United States seek new approaches to European problems and are ready to consider the real facts and the real correlation between forces rather than unattainable goals, West Germany recommends expansion of the strongholds of Atlanticism on West European soil. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, does not insist on any division of Europe into blocs but proposes a coordination of European forces, which would create a system of collective European security--a realistic program warmly supported by the East European countries.

1854
Melchior de Molènes, Charles. [TOWARD A UNITED EUROPE] Vers une Europe unie. Revue militaire générale. General military review, May 1969: 609-625.
U2. R48, 1969
Includes summaries in English and German.

A discussion of the implications of European unity based on Maurice Druon's The Future in Bewilderment, Jean Guitton's Dialogue with Paul VI, André Maurois's France, The Country of Federalism, and the writings and opinions of Pierre-Henri Simon and General Paul Stehlin. A united Europe would be an antidote for intellectual unrest and would provide, according to Druon, the framework within which man could attempt the necessary conciliation of socialism, liberty, and self-respect. However, there is much to do before a union can be realized, and the difficulty of the task is no less frightening when one knows that true union must include Eastern as well as Western Europe. Unfortunately, according to General Stehlin, the concept of union seems to be declining and the usefulness of the alliance is again being questioned. This makes it necessary to work harder than ever before to achieve essential economic and political cohesion.

1855
Nasser, Gamal A., Pres. United Arab Republic. ARAB CAUSE SHALL TRIUMPH. Socialist congressman, v. 8, Mar. 5, 1969: 10-11.
JQ298. S6A35, v. 8
"Text of address to the Palestinian National Council on February 1, 1969."

Stresses that all Arab countries must participate in the self-defense against Israel, rejects occupation and surrender, and recognizes the merit of the Palestinian resistance movement, which made liberation an international issue. Nasser offers the resistance movement moral and material assistance with no limits, reservations, or guardianship imposed. He expresses admiration for the movement's audacity in rejecting the November 22, 1967, U.N. Security Council resolution, which Egypt accepted. He declares that restoring and purging the Arab land is necessary by either combat or negotiation. Political and military preparedness are equally necessary. Peace must not be imposed but must be based on right and justice. Only a battle not a war has been lost, and the Arabs must rechannel their potentialities and rectify what has happened; for that purpose the United Arab Republic is gathering strength.

1856
Nguyen, H. Chi. THE VIETNAM WAR AND AFTER. Queen's quarterly, v. 76, spring 1969: 33-43.
AP5. Q3, v. 76

Considers the difficulties encountered in seeking answers to the basic questions about the Vietnam War--Who is responsible for starting the war? Who is the aggressor? Who are the Vietcong? Who is winning the war, or is it possible to win? What do the Vietnamese want? Nguyen suggests that one possible solution to the war would be "the complete internationalization of Vietnam . . . transforming it into a state under the direct rule of the United Nations with a truly integrated international armed force to defend the international polity."

1857
Norton, Robert F. IS NORTH KOREA SPOILING FOR ANOTHER WAR? V.F.W. magazine, v. 56, June 1969: 18-19, 44-45. illus.
E181.F7, v. 56

Examines the information on North Korean infiltration activities and military policies that has convinced many South Korean officials and American advisers that a future Korean war is inevitable. Norton reports that North Korea is arming its citizenry and moving its industries and military bases underground in anticipation of a war and concludes that another Pueblo incident or mass infiltration attempt might trip the wire and start another war.

1858
NOT WEST BUT EAST BERLIN IS A MILITARY BASE. In Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-) Presse- und Informationsamt. Bulletin, a weekly survey of German affairs, v. 17, Mar. 11, 1969: 63-64.
DD259.A35, v. 17

Refutes as unfounded Soviet and East German accusations that West Berlin is actively engaged in West German preparations for war against East Germany and the Soviet bloc. The article points out that the incorporation of East Berlin in the German Democratic Republic and the military operations in that part of the city violate the Four Power agreements.

1859
Page, Benjamin. SIGNALS FROM NORTH KOREA. Nation, v. 208, May 19, 1969: 622-624.
AP2.N2, v. 208

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is not entirely responsible for the worsening Korean situation. It has registered complaints of South Korean violations regularly with the United Nations and has publicly offered several proposals for the peaceful unification of Korea, but the United Nations and the South Korean Government have ignored them. The DPRK wants to present its side of the story, as an observer, in the U.N. debates on Korea; the United States will consent only if the DPRK will accept whatever decisions might be reached. The North Koreans cannot agree to this condition; they reject the U.N. role in Korean unification. The DPRK is eager to have a reunited Korea but would have much to lose from war. If the Nixon administration would "reverse the U.S. position and permit the U.N. to invite observers, without imposing conditions, not only from the DPRK but also from North Vietnam and East Germany," the cause of peace would be enhanced. If this is not done, however, both the United States and the United Nations must share the responsibility if war occurs.

1860
Ranger, Robert. NATO'S REACTION TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE STRATEGY OF AMBIGUOUS RESPONSE. World today, v. 25, Jan. 1969: 19-26.
D410.W63, v. 25

The one innovation in NATO's response to the invasion of Czechoslovakia was the warning that "any Soviet intervention directly affecting the situation in Europe or the Mediterranean would create an international crisis with grave consequences." Was this declaration, which constituted a significant extension of NATO commitments in the south and east, logical in light of the real significance of the Soviet intervention? Before the invasion alliance analysts were thinking in terms of what might be called "the Hungarian analogy and the revisionist approach to the Cold War," which stressed the national character of Soviet policy and the need to replace ideological confrontation with political bargaining. Unfortunately the Brezhnev doctrine has made it clear that for the Soviet Union ideological considerations are far from dead. Given the consequent recrudescence of uncertainty about Soviet intentions and the Soviet Union's overwhelming conventional power, the NATO declaration, which amounted to an announcement of the West's "ability to get both sides involved in a mutually dangerous process" and implied that the Soviet Union would not be allowed to divorce its European policy from its relationship with the United States, seems to have been the most appropriate response. The notion that superpower relations--e.g., strategic arms control talks--can be decoupled from tensions in Europe has found favor with the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency as well as the Soviet Union. This approach encourages Soviet rashness. The NATO warning was a justifiable exercise of deterrence, which stands a good chance of working if it can be made credible.

1861
Rodinson, Maxime. ISRAEL AND THE ARABS. Translated from the French by Michael Perl. New York, Pantheon Books [1968] 239 p.
DS119.7.R613 1968b
Translation of Israël et le refus arabe.
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Jewish nationalism and Arab nationalism. --From nationalism to nations.--Israel's first decade. --The rise of Arab socialism.--Israel softens.--The Arab circle and the world at large.--From disengagement to armed vigil.--Crisis.--Conclusion.--Acknowledgements.

Reviews the history of Jewish and Arab nationalism, the emergence of Israel as a Zionist state, and the domestic and international politics of Israel and its Arab neighbors before the outbreak of the 6-day war. Rodinson stresses the complexity of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the moral ambiguity of many of the issues that divide these two peoples, but he finds that in essence this conflict must be seen "as the struggle of an indigenous population against the occupation of part of its national territory by foreigners."

1862
Safran, Nadav. THE ALTERNATIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Commentary, v. 47, May 1969: 45-55.
DS101.C63, v. 47

Analyzes the responses of the various parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict to the November 1967 resolution of the Security Council and proposes the means of achieving a lasting peace settlement. Safran examines the possibility of arranging a settlement on the basis of peace without annexation either by direct negotiations between the Israelis and Arabs or through joint Soviet-American sponsorship. Should these attempts fail--and under present conditions their prospects are discouraging--he proposes a settlement based on redrawing "the boundary line between Egypt and Israel by having it run across the middle of northern Sinai, say from Ismailia in a straight line east and south to Israel's border, and then across the Southern Negev to the Jordanian border somewhere between Aqaba and the Dead Sea." This plan would have the advantage of eliminating the physical block to Arab

unity, which has long been Egypt's principal concern, without impairing the strategic position of either Israel or Egypt.

1863
Singh, Lalita Prasad. [REGIONAL COOPERATION IN ASIA] Regionale Zusammenarbeit in Asien. Europa-Archiv, v. 24, Jan. 10, 1969: 29-37.
D839.E86, v. 24

Discusses the problems and trends of Southeast Asian international political and economic cooperation. Singh considers the differences between Pacific countries in their attitude toward Red China a principal obstacle to the creation of a system of collective security for the area.

1864
[THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT] Le conflit sino-soviétique. L'Ordre français, no. 130, Mar. 1969: 8-11. DC1.O72, 1969
Third article in a section entitled "L'Actualité à travers ses échos."

Considers the Sino-Soviet conflict to be the result of economic differences. China would have little to gain against Russia's massive power, but its growing nuclear power is causing anxiety in the Soviet Union. A Sino-Soviet war would precipitate several other wars throughout the world and internal subversion throughout Europe. Europe must unite to prepare itself for a Sino-Soviet struggle and for what the Communists call the inevitable war between communism and capitalism.

1865
Smith, Tim. THE GROWING RACIAL STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. War/peace report, v. 9, Mar. 1969: 9-11. JX1901.W38, v. 9

Reports on the growing conflict between black nationalists, who are intensifying their guerrilla warfare activities, and the alliance of white Rhodesians, South Africans, and Portuguese, who are cooperating more closely in their efforts to suppress the guerrillas. Smith expresses regret that the United States has so far sided with "the status quo and racial injustice" but is hopeful that it may change its policy before the conflict escalates further.

1866
SOVIET REVISIONISTS INTENSIFY COLONIAL RULE AND FEVERISHLY CARRY OUT ARMS EXPANSION AND WAR PREPARATIONS IN MONGOLIA. Peking review, v. 12, July 18, 1969: 22-23.
DS701.P42, v. 12

Soviet revisionists have reduced Mongolia to a colony and military base directed against China. The Brezhnev clique has used the Soviet-Mongolian treaty of 1966 to trample on Mongolia's sovereignty and has exploited Mongolia's economy for its own purposes without consideration for the needs of the Mongolian people. In recent years the Soviet Union has intensified its buildup of troops and arms in Mongolia and has systematically stirred up anti-Chinese sentiment. However, the Mongolian people are gradually becoming aware that Soviet oppression is no different from American imperialism and sooner or later will rise up against their oppressors.

1867
Thapan, Arjun. THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT JUNE 1967 AND ITS ORIGINS. In United Service Institution of India, New Delhi. Journal, v. 98, July/Sept. 1968: 282-308. maps.
U1.U5, v. 98

Traces the origins of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and describes events leading up to and surrounding that event. Thapan concludes that the war has tipped the military balance in Israel's favor, that the Arabs must learn to live with Israel, and that an early peace is necessary to eliminate the threat of global war.

1868
Wit, Daniel. THAILAND, ANOTHER VIETNAM? New York, Scribner [1968] 205 p. maps.
JQ1743 1968.W57
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--An American ally under pressure.--The Thai political heritage.--Physical environment.--The human resource.--Social factors.--Economic factors.--General characteristics.--Educational capabilities.--Decision-making capabilities.--Administrative structures.--Thai development policy and strategy.--Political development.--Economic development.--The results of the first plan.--Thai development strategy and the problems of national security: a critique.

Asserts that Thailand, despite its strong support for the American role in Southeast Asia, constitutes an important foreign policy problem for the United States because of its proximity to Communist-proclaimed "wars of national liberation" and because America, under an agreement with Thailand, is bound to preserve its integrity and independence. Wit believes Thailand may become another Vietnam because the Government, which is composed of a ruling oligarchy, lacks the necessary social, economic, and political qualities to meet the Communist challenge. One can only hope, he concludes, that the Thais can produce that societal development that alone can prevent still another Southeast Asian catastrophe.

2. Disengagement, Neutralization, etc.

1869
Clifford, Clark M. A VIET NAM REAPPRAISAL; THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF ONE MAN'S VIEW AND HOW IT EVOLVED. Foreign affairs, v. 47, July 1969: 601-622. D410.F6, v. 47

Changed conditions require a change in America's Vietnam policy. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson all regarded South Vietnam as vital to the security of Southeast Asia. A trip to this region in the late summer of 1967, however, revealed that several nations more directly affected by events there--Thailand, the Philippines, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and Singapore--were less than enthusiastic in their support of the war effort. An intensive examination of the Vietnam situation in March 1968 produced no conclusive answers to the most basic questions about the war, demonstrating that the policy then being pursued was futile and should be abandoned in favor of a policy oriented toward gradual disengagement by the United States. On March 31 the President announced a limited bombing halt, placed a ceiling on

American troops in Vietnam, and accelerated aid to the South Vietnamese Armed Forces, thereby instituting two new basic tasks: transferring the burden of the war effort to South Vietnam and intensifying efforts to bring about peace talks. There were numerous indications, however, that South Vietnamese officials had little desire to take over the main burden of fighting and, even worse, were extremely reluctant to enter into serious peace negotiations when the opportunity arose in late October 1968. Important changes in the international situation since 1965 as well as domestic problems in the United States make a new Vietnam policy necessary and desirable. Since the South Vietnamese Government cannot be expected to make significant progress toward the eventual goal of self-reliance as long as the United States continues its massive presence there, several steps should be taken to facilitate this process. In any event the United States can never force "a sense or a sufficiency of national purpose" on the Vietnamese or other Southeast Asian peoples; ultimately they must stand on their own by establishing governments that answer their legitimate needs and demands.

1870
Freymond, Jacques, and others. [NEUTRALITY--MORE ACTIVE? THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ACTION OF A SMALL NEUTRAL STATE] Neutralität--aktiver? Aktionsmöglichkeiten des neutralen Kleinstaates. Schweizer Monatshefte, v. 49, Apr. 1969: 13-70.
AP32. S47, v. 49

Joint authors: Ernst F. Winter, Nils Andrén, Jan-Magnus Jansson, Jukka Huopaniemi, Leo Mates, and Daniel Frei.

Section on Switzerland written in French.

Discusses the political, economic, and military neutrality of Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, Finland, and Yugoslavia to ascertain how much leeway these nations have for mutual cooperation. In his concluding remarks to this collection of five articles--one on each country by a scientist from that country--Frei underlines the multiple motives that cause a nation to adopt neutrality, points out the advantages and disadvantages of this status, and stresses the fact that a neutral's foreign policy serves nonnational interests to a marked extent. The role of neutrals in mediation between parties engaged in conflict is also discussed.

1871
Maruyama, Shizuo. A NEW WORLD IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Japan quarterly, v. 16, Apr./June 1969: 170-179.
DS801. J274, v. 16

At the conclusion of the Vietnam War, Southeast Asia should be organized into a "Third World" based upon a system of life that differs from both capitalism and communism and upon regional solidarity and coexistence. Its nations should be linked horizontally on the basis of equality to form a world of independence and neutrality. The Southeast Asian nations that should be incorporated include North and South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Afghanistan, and the Maldives. The establishment of this "Third World" would probably occur in three stages: a preparatory period in which each nation consolidated its national economy, established its national status, strengthened its independence and neutrality, and developed regional ties; an intermediate period in which each nation withdrew from its military arrangements and consolidated its neutrality; and finally, a third stage in which the nations would establish a "Third World" organization, tentatively called the Southeast Asian Organization (SAO), to serve as "a broad political, diplomatic, economic and cultural co-operative organization"; it would have no military function, and its area would be a nuclear-free zone. The establishment of SAO will be difficult, "but the very delicacy and complexity of Southeast Asian problems demand that the area be neutralized as quickly as possible." Since the Southeast Asian nations to be included in SAO are attempting to separate themselves from big power political and military strategy, this "Third World" proposal is more realistic and closer to materialization than might be expected.

1872
NEUTRALIZATION AND WORLD POLITICS [by] Cyril E. Black [and others] Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1968. xviii, 195 p.
JX5361. N44

"Published for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University."

Bibliographical footnotes.

Other authors: Richard A. Falk, Klaus Knorr, and Oran R. Young.

Partial contents.--Neutralization and the management of power in the international system.--The historical experience with neutralization.--Neutralized states and international relations.--Areas suitable for neutralization.--Negotiating neutralization.--The maintenance of neutralization.--Neutralization: thoughts in conclusion.

Focuses on the utility of neutralization in the contemporary world and examines the historical experience with neutralization "in light of its relevance to contemporary problems." The authors contend that, although difficulties surround the negotiation and enforcement of neutralization treaties, neutralization may be useful to control international violence and thereby support international order in today's world.

1873
Volkmann, Klaus. ASIAN NIGHTMARE--A U.S. 'PULL-OUT' [by] Peter Grubbe [pseud.] Atlas, v. 18, July 1969: 28-30.
AP1. A83, v. 18

Translated from Die Zeit (Hamburg).
AP30. Z39

Notes the increasing concern in pro-Western and nonalined nations of Southeast Asia about the U.S. announcement of planned troop withdrawal. Volkmann points out that these nations fear China but can preserve their independence only if they unite.

D. OUTER SPACE

1874
Langer, Paul F. THE JAPANESE SPACE PROGRAM: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 30 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-3917)
AS36. R28, no. 3917

Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 65.
AS36. R284, v. 6

Through technological prudence and industry, the Japanese were able to move from production of a 9-inch sounding rocket in 1954 to a position among second-ranking space powers without a single major setback

until 1966. That year the space program experienced difficulties because of (1) financial pressures encouraging hasty experiments and inadequate testing, (2) wastage from duplication in civilian and military agency operations, (3) indistinct space goals, (4) limited technical developments due to fear of military potential. Debate on whether to increase financial burdens in the hope of economic as well as prestige gains or to compromise between technological dependence and autarky indicates an emerging consensus over the latter course. Currently proposed centralization of the space program will give Japan a more active international role, but U.S. assistance will probably be required. (Abstract supplied)

E. VIOLATION OF AGREEMENTS AND RESPONSES

1. Violation, Inspection, Verification

1875
Brode, H. L. MORE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN CAVITIES. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 62 p. (Rand Corporation. Research memorandum. RM-5685-PR) Q180.A1R36, no. 5685
Abstract from Selected Rand Abstracts, v. 6, Jan./Dec. 1968, p. 58.
AS36.R284, v. 6

An extension of earlier calculations (in RM-3727) describing cavity gas dynamics and wall pressures and temperatures for low-yield nuclear explosions to include 10-KT explosions, 40-, 60-, and 80-meter-radius cavities, and a contained atmosphere of water vapor at about 11 torr. These calculations do not include the effects of absorbers, but rather extend the previous results to larger cavity sizes, to lower ambient (pre-shot) cavity pressures, and to higher yields. Wall pressures, temperatures, and densities are reported for five new specific cases, with average cavity pressures ranging from approximately 8 to approximately 90 bars, and peak pressures ranging from 137 to 676 bars. Some typical pressure, temperature, and density profiles in the cavity interiors at various times are reported, in addition to the wall pressures, temperatures, and densities as functions of time for each case. (Abstract supplied)

1876
Dorr, J. A. HIGH RESOLUTION SHADOWGRAPHIC BOTTOM SCANNING SONARS. Signal, v. 23, Apr. 1969: 37-40, 42. illus.
UG1.M65, v. 23

Describes the operation of shadowgraphic bottom-scanning sonars and outlines "considerations that should be made when selecting or designing shadowgraphic sonar for a specific search operation." Dorr emphasizes that the development of the shadowgraphic sonar operation has been under naval guidance for specific military applications.

1877
Evernden, J. F. IDENTIFICATION OF EARTHQUAKES AND EXPLOSIONS BY USE OF TELESEISMIC DATA. Journal of geophysical research, v. 74, July 15, 1969: 3828-3856. illus. QC811.J6, v. 74

Criteria for achieving an order of magnitude discrimination between underground explosions and shallow-focus continental earthquakes are presented. The basis of all these criteria is the gross difference between earthquakes and explosions as regards their relative generation of short- and long-period waves. It is also shown that depth of focus of small events can be accurately determined either by use of master-controlled travel-time corrections or by determination of time of origin (Pg, S-P, etc.). Therefore, the basic problem for differentiating earthquakes and underground explosions of magnitude 4 3/4 or greater by seismic criteria has been solved. The remaining problems are the detection of long-period waves at low signal-to-noise ratios and the evaluation of the applicability of long-period identification criteria for low-magnitude events. (Abstract supplied)

1878
Fisher, Adrian S. U.S. VIEWS ON NUCLEAR WEAPON MATERIAL CUTOFF AGREEMENT AND VERIFICATION OF COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 60, May 12, 1969: 409-413.
JX232.A33, v. 60
"Made before the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva on Apr. 8," 1969.

States the U.S. position on proposals to ban underground nuclear testing and to halt the production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons. On the first proposal, the United States takes the view that verification procedures must be a part of any comprehensive test ban treaty and must include "obligatory on-site inspections in addition to seismic detection and identification techniques." Regarding the second, the United States would now accept IAEA safeguards as adequate for the verification of a nuclear-weapon material cutoff agreement. Earlier U.S. policy statements had stressed the need for mutual inspection by adversaries.

1879
Frenzel, W., W. Heinz, and H. Moeken. [BALANCES OF FISSIONABLE MATERIAL AND SAFEGUARDS CONTROL] Spaltstoffbilanzen und Sicherheitskontrolle. Neue Technik; new techniques, v. 11, Feb. 1969: 28-32.
TJ212.N4, v. 11
Text in German, French, and English.

Discusses limitations and technological problems of international control over the use of fissionable material. Safeguard systems of the European Nuclear Energy Agency and the European Atomic Energy Community are outlined.

1880
Lehmann, I. TRAVEL TIMES AND AMPLITUDES OF THE SALMON NUCLEAR EXPLOSION. In Seismological Society of America. Bulletin, v. 59, Apr. 1969: 959-966. map. QE531.S3, v. 59

Travel times and amplitudes of the P_n and P waves generated by the nuclear explosion Salmon fired in the State of Mississippi are studied. To the west the P_n waves are found to be cut off at a distance of about 1800 km, where they are about to enter the mountainous region. An increase of P amplitude with distance goes to confirm that the P velocity increases with depth and to indicate that the time-curve is a continuous, bending curve. (Abstract supplied)

1881
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. THE NUCLEAR DEFENSE EFFORT. In its Annual report to Congress. 1968. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969: 59-69. illus. HD9698.U5A33, 1968

Summarizes the contribution of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to nuclear defense in 1968. "The AEC . . . continued: (a) development, testing, and production of nuclear weapons and their components . . .; (b) design and development of nuclear devices, advanced data acquisition systems and diagnostic instrumentation for underground testing; (c) maintenance of readiness to resume atmospheric testing, if necessary, as required by the limited test ban treaty safeguards; (d) participation in the [Department of Defense]-sponsored nuclear detonation detection (Vela) research and development program; and (e) cooperation with other countries in Mutual Defense Agreements (including NATO) for the exchange of specified weapon information."

1882
Wright, C., and K. J. Muirhead. LONGITUDINAL WAVES FROM THE NOVAYA ZEMLYA NUCLEAR EXPLOSION OF OCTOBER 27, 1966, RECORDED AT THE WARRAMUNGA SEISMIC ARRAY. Journal of geophysical research, v. 74, Apr. 15, 1969: 2034-2048. QC811.J6, v. 74

The apparent velocity and azimuth of P from the Novaya Zemlya nuclear explosion of October 27, 1966, have been measured for the Warramunga array and have been used to work out possible crustal structures for correcting measured apparent velocities and azimuths in the azimuth range 335° to 355°. Comparison of the measured apparent velocities and azimuths for seven earthquakes at different distances, but at similar azimuths to Novaya Zemlya, has shown that the computed structures give satisfactory corrections. Measurements of apparent velocity and azimuth have been used as an aid in identifying the phases PKiKP, PP, PcPPcP, PKKP, PcPPKP, and PKPPKP in the explosion record; similar measurements have been made for coherent signals not corresponding to any of the conventional phases. (Abstract supplied)

2. Enforcement

F. CONSEQUENCES OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MEASURES

1883
Ehrlich, Thomas. LEGAL PROBLEMS OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES ENGINEERING. Nuclear news, v. 12, July 1969: 42-45. QC770.N75, v. 12

The limited test ban treaty prohibits any underground nuclear explosion that will cause "radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the state under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted." Because the key phrases "radioactive debris" and "to be present" have never been defined for purposes of the treaty, this provision has raised some difficult problems of interpretation and application. According to one school of thought, an underground nuclear explosion violates the treaty only if vented radioactive materials in sufficient quantities to be hazardous to health are carried outside the territorial limits of the state that causes the explosion. In opposition to this "contamination" interpretation, a second school argues that a violation has occurred whenever vented materials are "detectable" outside the territorial limits. It is readily apparent that either of these standards of evaluation would be difficult to put into practice. Furthermore, a question more fundamental than that of the standards themselves remains unanswered: What agency is to be given the authority to determine the standards? It is probable that standards will be worked out in "a case-by-case development rather than through either international agreement or international adjudication." The treaty would seem to preclude the plan to use nuclear explosions to excavate a sea-level canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Most likely, the United States will seek to have the project authorized by an amendment to the test ban treaty, but the nonproliferation treaty is certain to complicate the effort to reach agreement on this and other issues raised by Project Plowshare.

1884
SNOOPY'S BROTHERS. Nature (London) v. 222, June 7, 1969: 909-910. Q1.N2, v. 222

Only time will tell what effects the new, high-resolution reconnaissance satellites are having on international politics. Conceivably, they are making a significant contribution to the reduction of political tensions. Because they offer some hope of a solution to the sticky inspection problem, they have already made their influence felt in arms control discussions. The new satellite technology is not without its dangers, however, as Great Britain's earth resources technology satellite project well illustrates. This project, which is meant to have commercial applications, raises some very touchy political and legal questions: What steps will be taken to prevent satellite photographs from falling into unqualified hands? What policy will be adopted toward photographing sensitive areas in foreign countries? Is photo reconnaissance a right or a privilege? No one seems to be giving much thought to these matters; yet, to mention only one danger, a reconnaissance photograph in the wrong hands could precipitate a local war. Like Plowshare, this project cannot be divorced from its political environment. Both programs should be studied in depth--perhaps by the Institute for Peace Research and Conflict Resolution--in order "to pinpoint the scurces of friction and throw possible solutions out for debate."

G. OTHER PROBLEMS AND MEASURES

1885
Clarke, Robin. NUCLEAR ENGINEERING A MIXED BLESSING. Science journal, v. 5, June 1969: 6-7. illus. Q1.S57, v. 5

The recent formation of Geonuclear Nobel Paso (GNP), an international company with headquarters in Paris, has intensified the controversy over the peaceful uses of nuclear explosives and their effect on nuclear disarmament. El Paso Natural Gas Company, which holds a 50 percent interest in the new firm, was the only industry to participate in Plowshare's Project Gasbuggy and continues to maintain close ties to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. GNP conducts a substantial advertising campaign to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear explosives and justifies their use by insisting that they violate no existing or proposed treaty agreements. Those opposed to their use point out the dubious economic advantages of nuclear explosives and stress their disruptive political effects.

1886
Craven, John P. OCEAN TECHNOLOGY AND SUBMARINE WARFARE. In London. Institute for Strategic Studies. The implications of military technology in the 1970s. London, 1968. (Adelphi papers, no. 46) p. 38-46. U162.A3, no. 46

The major obstacle to developing underwater systems is the lack of a nuclear-power capability. It appears that for the next decade there will be no major change in the availability or relative ranking of military submarine systems of strategic significance. In the future, nations will develop submarine measures and countermeasures, and an estimation of the long-term prospects is necessary to discern patterns that are evolving in military sea strategy. Projected technological innovations could extend and change the configuration of continental and island jurisdictions and establish "additional islands and oases of jurisdiction throughout the oceans, on either a national or some sort of mixed basis." Although long-term prospects for the development of effective area surveillance devices are dim, the outlook for establishment of barrier lines is more optimistic. The primary use of a barrier line would be the encirclement of ports of entry to detect a transitor and then to track it throughout its entire voyage. The chief stimulus to change sea law will come from the commercial development of the sea. "If successfully pursued, rights and benefits in the resources of the sea bed may vest in some legal entity as do rights and benefits of the water column when associated with a commercial interest." Deep water submersibles will aid the development of customary law by providing commercial interests with the technology to exploit the resources of the Continental Shelf and seabed. This exploitation will take place near islands or surface sea mounts and will enhance their strategic significance. The stable platform and manned excavation would also "provide an additional means for location of islands of jurisdiction throughout the oceans." As long as these areas develop in response to the commercial and scientific aspirations of man, most of the undersea area will remain ownerless.

1887
Fisher, Adrian S. U.S. SUBMITS DRAFT TREATY BANNING EMPLACEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE SEABED. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 60, June 16, 1969: 520-524. JX232.A33, v. 60

Statement made before the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva on May 22, 1969.

Outlines the U.S. position on the efforts of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament to negotiate an agreement to prevent an arms race on the seabed and ocean floor. Fisher's remarks were made in conjunction with the submission to the Committee of a U.S. draft treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the seabed and ocean floor. The United States believes that a general demilitarization of the seabed, as proposed by the Soviet Union in a draft treaty submitted to the Committee, is unattainable at this time and that therefore Committee efforts should be limited to the problem of prohibiting weapons of mass destruction. The United States is also convinced that the provision in the Soviet treaty that "all installations and structures on the seabed shall be open for verification" is impractical and that an agreement for "observation and consultation" would provide an adequate means of verifying compliance.

1888
Friends, Society of. American Friends Service Committee. ANATOMY OF ANTI-COMMUNISM; A REPORT PREPARED FOR THE PEACE EDUCATION DIVISION OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. New York, Hill and Wang [1969] xv, 138 p. HX86.F82

Contents. --Prologue: the realistic--and the right. --Introduction. --How we got that way: history of anti-communism. --What is it?: the anti-communism complex. --What it does to us: consequences of anti-communism in domestic and foreign policy. --What it really is: anti-communism--myth and reality. --What can we do about it?: alternatives to anti-communism. --Selected bibliography. --Members of the working party on Anatomy of Anti-Communism, AFSC.

Analyzes the phenomenon of anticommunism in the United States and its effects on domestic and foreign policies. The authors stress the irrationality that pervades American attitudes toward communism, the double standards frequently applied to American and Communist behavior, and the harmful consequences of these attitudes. They contend that anticommunism provides both an incentive and a justification to continue the arms race and conclude that a meaningful rapprochement with the Communist world cannot be achieved as long as such an outlook persists.

1889
McAlister, John T. VIET NAM; THE ORIGINS OF REVOLUTION. [Princeton, N.J.] Published for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University [by] Knopf, New York, 1969. xix, 377 p. DS557.A5M17 1969

Contents. --Introduction. --The historical context of revolution in Viet Nam. --The colonial background to the Vietnamese revolution, 1885-1940. --The wartime impact on revolutionary politics: the Japanese occupation of Indochina, 1940-1945. --The bid for revolutionary power: the August revolution of 1945. --The revolutionary opportunities in the Chinese occupation of northern Viet Nam, September 1945-March 1946. --The French response to the Vietnamese revolution: political community versus military reoccupation, March-December 1946. --Conclusion: the origins of revolution. --Epilogue: the future of revolution in Viet Nam. --Bibliography. --Index. --Maps.

Attempts "to relate the origins of the conflict in Viet Nam to an understanding of the nature of revolution with the hope that this relationship will give the reader both a historical and an analytical perspective on the continuing crisis in Vietnamese politics." McAlister focuses on the emergence and growth of a viable revolutionary movement--the Communist-led Viet Minh--during the years of Japanese occupation and the postwar period when France attempted to reassert its control over Indochina, from 1940 to 1946. He finds that revolution--defined as changes in the political structure that introduce "new ways of mobilizing and sharing political strength"--became necessary in Vietnam because there were no legitimate means for bringing about such changes. Among Vietnamese nationalists, only the Communists have thus far shown both an understanding of revolution and the ability to give concrete expression to this understanding. In the author's view the Diem regime and its successors have failed because they have relied on military force rather than political mobilization to maintain themselves in power.

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Calls attention to the pressing need to locate and exploit new low-cost uranium reserves. A drastic underestimation, in the 1950's, of the rate of increase in the use of fissionable materials and the consequent decline of prospecting efforts has led to a situation in which the rate of increase in low-cost uranium reserves is too low in relation to the rate of increase in uranium demand. The most promising geographical areas and geological formations for the discovery of new deposits, the cost of future prospecting efforts, and the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency in this work are discussed.

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